

Industrial Pioneer

An Illustrated Labor Magazine
October, 1925 Price 20 cents



The Coal Strike Situation
Industrial Unionism and the Building Trades
Letters of Rosa Luxemburg

Poems

Cartoons

Book Reviews

On Being Happy

By ROBERT WHITAKER

How can a man be happy when the
world is so awry?
When strong men beg for work to do,
and unfed millions die?
When little children lift their heads
and plead in vain for bread?
How can a man be happy if he isn't
worse than dead?

What if the fates have favored us and
we have bread to spare;
A decent roof to shelter us, and what
we need to wear;
And friends to love, and work to do,
and joys we cannot tell;
How can a man be happy when his
brothers live in hell?

Alas for those who are content with
preachments, prayers and psalms;
With nicely ordered charities, or with
spasmodic alms;
Alas for creeds, and cults, and schools
, describe them as you will,
That make us self-complacent if we
only have our fill.

It isn't outright wickedness that
wrecks the human race;
It's the shallow, selfish goodness that
we glorify apace;
Our mean self-help philosophies, our
honor and success;
Our skill at being happy when the
world is in distress.

The Industrial Pioneer

Edited By John A. Gahan

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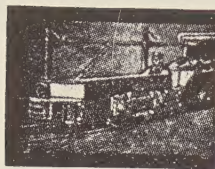
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Editorials



THE SHIPPING STRIKE.—As these lines are being written M. T. W. No. 510 of the I. W. W. has voted to strike. The action is for various improvements in the wages and conditions of work among seamen, and in support of the strike of their fellow workers in England, Denmark, Australia, New Zealand, Africa and China. Reports from New York state that a number of boats have been tied up as a result. In Mobile one ship was in the harbor when the strike vote was taken, and immediately the crew was struck. This called forth the ire of the authorities who raided the I. W. W. hall, arresting the secretary and one member.

In the Industrial Solidarity for September 16th, a map of the world shipping routes was printed. This map shows the interdependence of all the points hit by this strike upon one another with their exports and imports. By striking together the seamen in all these countries have augmented their opportunities to gain their demands, and from the present contest we look forward to material improvements.

With such advantages secured by the strike seamen can forge ahead more rapidly in the work of organization. Transportation is a strategic factor in class warfare. With its organization into industrial unions together with the organization of workers in basic industries the workers are in a position of great power. With industrial power we can accomplish all that we desire, and without it we can achieve nothing. Therefore, the strike is an encouraging sign of activity of which there has been a disastrous and disheartening lack among America's working class for several years.

One of the ships that managed to clear an English port after the strike was called was the *Majestic*. The M. T. W. members were on hand to picket it when it arrived

in New York. Incidentally, one of the passengers was Morris Hillquist, erstwhile champion of the downtrodden masses. Morris is an executive of the socialist party in America, and was returning from an international gathering of his party in Europe. When a leading light of the party thinks so little of working class organization as to sail on a struck vessel operated by scabs it is an exhibition of the degeneracy into which the party has fallen. Hillquist, with characteristic modesty, succeeded in eluding the waiting fellow workers who were bent on giving him an ovation.

A LEWIS PERFORMANCE. — Since September 1st the anthracite miners have been on strike. Lest the supply of hard coal on hand prove inadequate to the demand, 60,000 tons of anthracite coal have been ordered for the American market from Wales. John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, in harmony with the spirit of American trade union isolation, has done nothing to try to prevent shipments of this coal. While the commerce of the world continues to increase in interdependent character; while we see unemployment crises hitting the great industrial countries simultaneously; while the dependence of each country on others becomes more strikingly manifest, Lewis, like the late Gompers, seems to see America with a large fence around it. It is the old policy of not securing solidarity of labor wherever needed. When the miners were striking in 1913 in Colorado the Wyoming miners, separated by districts, were working with might and main to fill the orders not being met by Colorado. Now the same activity takes on an international aspect. Such isolation, while Lewis hobnobs with capitalist politicians, may be a paying proposition to him, but the miners certainly lose by it.

To make their strike effective they must get overseas and domestic support in transportation, and issue a strike call to soft coal miners to give their aid in the struggle.

OUR LITERARY OPPORTUNITY.—Until we have shaped society to fit our wants and desires we can not expect to develop a proletarian literature. No such literature exists at this time, the workers absorbing the pabulum issued in letters for their consumption, and fully accepting the ethics of their masters. When feudalism was at its ascendancy the literature of the period reflected with striking fidelity the courtly attitude and glorified the virtues of aristocracy. There was no sign of favorable mention of the merchant class which was in existence. Later, this class succeeded to power, and when its system had been established the literature following in its wake paid homage to the bourgeoisie. But always the changed literary character followed the changed social structure. There can be no departure from this law, and almost every book, paper, magazine or moving picture is a tribute to capitalism. With hardly an exception they voice the code of the capitalist and raise up his virtues for general emulation.

But the workers are not without ability to express their thought and already we have an earnest of their coming dominance in the literary realm, just as we have in our industrial unions a promise of their ascendancy in the world of industry. There is always a forerunner of great social change, always men and women stand out with a message of progress and attempt to rouse from their ruinous lethargy the inert mass. In the true sense of the term education and slavery are incompatible. That which passes for education among workers, that which is given to them by their masters, is miseducation.. It is designed to keep them tractable without which quality they are not pliable. A thinking slave is an anomaly, because ruling classes have always taken the greatest pains to keep slavery and ignorance in communion. Multiply the thinking slave and the time nears

when a social upheaval is inevitable with the subject class beating all before it for its place in the sun.

And so, we have our working class publications which have expressed the will of the wage slaves for power and freedom. The I. W. W. press has done much to make this class articulate; it has encouraged our members to develop their own arguments and to set them down black on white. We have depended almost entirely for our material upon the pens of workers. The drawbacks are not so great as to depend upon non-workers, professionals, who can never understand our mental processes nor know the attitude of the worker which can be known only through personal experience.

Heirs to the subject estate of chattel slave and serf, we proletarians in every corner of the globe have the greatest chance to observe and report facts whose nature prevents their publication in the usual channels of capitalist journalism. There should be a larger attempt made to report what we see, to make our message clear, to waken hope and to impel action among the workers. Material in abundance for articles and stories lies in all our social and industrial contacts. Let us make use of it. Let our increasing ability to state our opinions and to voice our aspirations be the harbinger of that coming literature of the free future.

FIVE SHIFTS OF PHYSICIANS.—When workers fall victims of illness they hesitate about sending for physicians because they know that medical attention is costly. Many of them perish for want of such care and for inability to follow prescriptions and advice calling for expenditures beyond their means. Doctors have a facile way of telling patients to get a change of climate, to take long rests, to eat good foods and to refrain from worrying. This prescribing is fatuous where workers are concerned. They are the useful members of society, and thereby are rewarded by having no property. They have nothing for sale but their labor power. Its price

permits only a bare existence when forthcoming; during periods of unemployment and illness little or nothing remains upon which to subsist.

Not so among the parasites of the rich. Mrs. J. P. Morgan, wife of the banker, recently died of lethargic encephalitis, a kind of sleeping sickness. During the illness she was confined to her palatial home on Long Island with five expert physicians in attendance, the very best that money can buy. They worked in shifts so that at no hour of the day or night was she without one of them. Of course they were assisted by a staff of nurses. In material goods, in all comforts, luxuries and leisure the useless members of society have an abundance and a surfeit. So, when ill they receive the utmost care guaranteed by a corps of doctors and paid for with wealth robbed from workers who can cut down on their rations when sick in order to pay doctors or line up at the free clinics where internes are busy practising on the paupers.

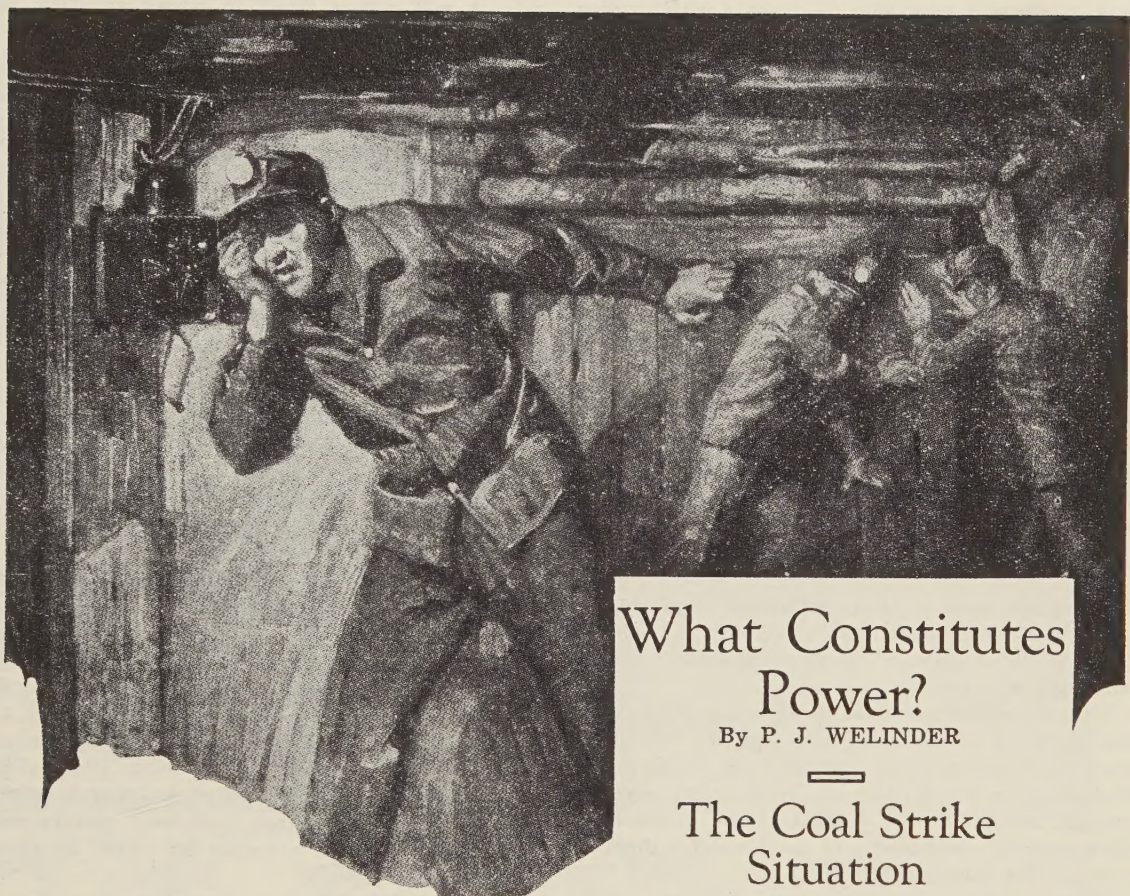
TO BE SELF-SUSTAINING. — Industrial depression has for a long period reacted very unfavorably on our press, to say nothing of further losses suffered through the late controversy. The latter contribution to lowering of circulation has gradually receded, and continues to fade out of the picture as the dissension agents lose such influence as they had and as they are being thoroughly discredited. Considering the decline in membership during the last year, this magazine and Industrial Solidarity have more than held their own, but neither of them is self-sustaining.

An estimation has been made which shows that with about two thousand additional circulation they can pay their own way. Without impairing either publication everything has been done to cut expenses, and we think that quite as good publications are being issued now as when circulation was at its highest point. We ask you to make a special effort to increase our circulation by keeping up your subscriptions and bundle orders and by introducing the publications to your fellow

workers and friends. A decided advance can be made by this method.

With several industrial unions showing a membership growth in the last two months, we look to a rise in circulation from that progress. A. W. I. U. No. 110 has, of course, secured many members through its great organization drive this summer, and gains are reported by 310 and 510. This must have a good effect on our press. Let us do whatever we can to increase the circulation, thereby making our periodicals support themselves.

THE POLICY OF THRIFT. — Recently Brisbane, inspired word of the Hearst papers, deplored the lack of thrift in the American people. Because of it, and their unwise investments, he said most of them die with scarcely enough money to their names for payment of interments. This is the sort of pabulum that a gullible public is given to confuse an issue which needs but little light in order to be understood by all. Workers receive in wages just sufficient to maintain themselves and reproduce other slaves at a given standard. Saving part of these wages can not be conceived without deprivation, a reduction of their living standard. To save from our wages presupposes that we have learned to exist with less food, clothing and shelter than we previously consumed. And because labor power is a commodity bound up in the laborer, the cost of whose sustenance determines the value of the commodity, an inescapable conclusion is reached that thrift is not possible to the working class except as a very temporary venture certain to result in payment of wages reduced proportionately to the reduction in the living standard. It is not because of the "extravagance" of the workers that they die so poor that they must be buried at state expense or on the installment plan, but because they are so well exploited in the industries that any other fate is unthinkable. So far as investments are concerned, the one great, unwise investment the workers make is to invest their lives in a system of robbery where the cards are stacked against them and they can receive nothing but wretchedness in return.



What Constitutes Power?

By P. J. WELINDER

The Coal Strike Situation

THE I. W. W., in its Preamble, as well as in all its literature and propaganda has constantly pointed out that real power can only be obtained from the industrial field. Those who control the industries also control society and all its functions.

Our position has constantly been assailed by those who see in our present form of governments a particular restrictive and deciding force, whose power extends beyond and above the industries, and who hold that the industries are subject to the dictation of the armed force of government and not the industries dictating to the government what course to pursue.

In the struggle waged by the British miners against their employers' attempt to lower their wages, which struggle recently terminated in a complete victory for the miners, we find the most convincing proof of our contention that only in our organized strength on the industrial field do we constitute a power in society.

As the miners of the U. S. A. at the present time are also contesting, by means of a partial strike, the encroachment of their masters, it is certainly worth while to compare the struggle that is being waged by the American coal miners to the fight which recently terminated in a victory for their brothers of Great Britain.

In the Hearst papers we find the internationally-known capitalist apologist, David Lloyd George, shedding bitter tears over the impotency of the government against the organized strength of the

British miners and their fellow workers in other industries. In the Sunday edition of the Chicago Herald Examiner for August 23rd, we find said "statesman" revealing himself to the following extent:

"In Britain, the homeland of European democracy, popular government received a rude shock when the government with its huge parliamentary majority, surrendered abjectly to a trade union frameup.

"A system of government whose sceptre shakes

in its hands with fear when confronted with a union secretary armed with a strike must necessarily lose respect."

Certainly the government loses respect when it surrenders to powers that are supposed to be governed by the government instead of governing its action. For years the workers have noted that "their democratic" governments have been solely run by the big owners of industries. The workers have long noted how shaky the hand of the government actually is when confronted with a real power from the industrial and economic field. Is it then to wonder at that finally the workers learned how to wield a similar power and to dictate to the so-called government what course to pursue? Of course, Lloyd George and his kind do not send out a war cry when the government shakes as a result of the command from the moneyed interests. It is only when labor speaks its command that it is wrong.

Direct Action Gets the Goods

As to the value of direct action and organization on the job none speaks more eloquently in its favor than the "War Premier" of Great Britain. This is what he has to say:

"There can be no doubt in anyone's mind as to the character of the struggle going on. Workmen are already pointing out that Mr. Cook (labor representative) by his method of direct action secured greater results for the toiler in three weeks than Ramsay MacDonald managed to obtain for them in nine months parliamentary blether."

There we have it quite plain. We can obtain more in three weeks through direct action on the industrial field than through nine months of blethering in the parliament.

Of course Lloyd George describes this as a parliamentary victory for the miners, inasmuch as Mr. Cook is a member of parliament. Yet he must admit the fact that Cook could speak with such authority because he was armed with a strike. And let us state here that it was no small strike either. It was 1,300,000 workers who spoke through Mr. Cook, and it apparently made very little difference who the spokesman was and where he spoke. When more than a million men, engaged in the basic industries, threaten to stop the wheels of production if their demands are not granted, one may rest assured that their voice will be heard whether they speak inside or outside the parliamentary building.

What was really the victory won? We are told that parliament granted a subsidy to the mine operators of fifty million dollars to guarantee the operation of the mines for six months at the old wage scale. It being assumed that the wage cut proposed would amount to that sum, or perhaps a little more. In other words, the miners of Great Britain were actually granted the tidy sum of fifty million dollars, or more, for a period of six months.

We will probably be told that, owing to the fact that the money is to be paid as a government sub-

sidy it will reflect itself in added taxation and thereby reach the workers in another form than a wage cut. But it is not so.

British Wealth Concentration

Recently we heard a parliament member state in the house of commons in London, that the wealth of Great Britain had accumulated into the hands of a few to the extent that two per cent of the people own more than 82 per cent of the wealth of the nation, while 82 per cent of the people own less than two per cent of its wealth. We were further informed that in the city of London poverty is so great that out of every seven persons who die, five have to be buried at the cost of the commune. It is a cinch, that those who do not leave enough behind them to take care of their funeral expenses, do not pay any taxes either. The fifty million dollars, to be paid from the national treasury, will have to be made up for by the capitalist class of Great Britain.

This fact, that the penalty has to be borne by the whole capitalist class and not only by the coal barons alone, gives to the question a far wider aspect than a mere strike of the coal miners could possibly do. The victory attained means simply that the whole British capitalist class capitulated before the united strength of the workers on the industrial field. The coal barons refused to be the goats alone, hence the combined forces of capital had to step in and shoulder the expense, and they merely used their government as a means by which to adjust the penalty.

And why did the whole capitalist class venture into the battle? Was it because of some particular high idealism, of solidarity between themselves? Nothing of that kind. It was because behind the miners stood the railroad workers and the marine transportation workers, who stated in very plain terms that unless the miners were granted their demands the industries would be brought to a standstill. Consequently it was a question for all the employers to secure peace and operation of their industries and thereby a continuance of their profit making operation. Hence they were willing to pay their share. The question was more than one of a coal miners' strike, it was part of the class war as a whole. As such it is so immensely significant.

British Labor Solidarity Real

But this is only a small part of the story. The worst is yet to come. Listen to the next sob-spasm of our friend George. Under a sub-head "Grimmest Struggle Yet," he quotes the president of the National Union of Railway Men as follows:

"...they would see this year one of the biggest struggles that has ever taken place in the history of the railroads. This is going to be the grimmest, fiercest and most desperate struggle the railway men have had to face."

And then he proceeds as follows:



IN ENGLAND'S EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY COAL MINING WOMEN
PULLED THE LOADED CARS OUT IN THIS MANNER

"After Cook's startling victory, even J. H. Thomas cannot persuade his people to give in without striking a blow. What the railway and transport workers did for the miners, the miners and transport workers will be expected to do for the railway men. The government may once more have to choose between national stoppage and subsidy."

Does not that sound very much as though Lloyd George began to understand what the workers mean with their slogan "An Injury to One is an Injury to All"? Apparently British politicians of the bourgeois type are better aware of the power of industrial unionism than are the labor politicians of America. Wonder whether the workers of America will learn as well.

The American Mine Strike Situation

Now let us take a look at the situation in America. President Lewis of the United Mine Workers attempts to talk in similar tones as did the miners' secretary of Great Britain, and the master class merely laugh at him and the miners. A part of the miners are on strike, 158,000 miners in the hard-coal fields, while the miners in the bituminous coal

fields are at work. Already the press pokes fun at them. We note the papers assure their readers that there is plenty of anthracite coal in the yards, besides the soft coal miners are working. Not even among the miners themselves do we find a united effort and an unbroken front.

But that is only half of the story. While the miners in Great Britain could speak with the railroad workers solidly behind them, likewise the marine workers, in America it is a different story. Employers are well aware of the fact that should all the miners strike at one time, their "brothers" on the locomotives and in the train service will bring in trainloads of scabs to fill the mines and bring out other trainloads of coal mined by the scabs. The "brothers" on the seas will likewise shovel scab coal to the best of their ability, and transport it to any part of the country that can be reached by water.

In the cities the truck drivers and the workers in the coal yards will gladly help to defeat their "brothers" on strike in the coal fields by handling all the scab coal they can lay their hands on, and all throughout the industry we will find the same

willingness on the part of the workers to scab on the coal miners. Under such conditions can you expect that the employers will do anything but laugh at the strike?

Already we find that the striking miners have reached an agreement with their masters to take good care of their mines, their mules and their machinery during the strike. So far there has been nothing revealed as to what the masters are going to do for the miners on strike, whether the contract stipulates that he is to take care of the miners' physical needs, feed their babies and their wives and see that no harm is being done them. One thing we may be sure of: neither Lewis, nor the coal barons will suffer any wants during this strike, nor after the strike is settled either. How it will turn out for the miners is a different story.

The Lesson from Britain is Clear

Fellow workers, is not the lesson derived from the British workers so obvious to all that we should not fail to benefit by it? Is it not clear to you yet, that we must organize as a class, and speak as a class, in order to win? Is it not clear to you that under the present system of organized scabbery we cannot win, but must constantly lose, and sink further down into misery and despair? If you can't understand that yet, then you are hopelessly lost. If you can understand it, and don't dare to act in conformity to the lesson learned, then you are equally much beyond hope of redemption.

In spite of the splendid victory won by the British miners they are confronted with a grave danger. The danger is not that the solidarity displayed by the workers of Great Britain will not endure. On the contrary that solidarity will constantly become more and more operative on the industrial field, and gain in momentum. No, the danger lies right here in America. And not only the workers in Great Britain but the workers throughout the whole world have a just cause to fear the workers of the United States.

With the highly developed machine technique in the mines in America and their richer deposits, as well as with a submissive and defeated group of workers in the mines, the danger is that when the miners in other parts of the world go on strike, the miners of America will be called upon to supply the demand for coal. Will the workers of America do it? It seems to me only logical to presume that they will. When we find that the workers within the boundaries of the republic do not hesitate to scab upon each other, they will not hesitate to scab upon workers in other countries. The real question in the present strike is: "Shall the miners, and the workers of America, allow themselves to be used as scabs in the class struggle of the world?"

We will, no doubt, in the near future, read many comments upon the coal miners' fight in Great Britain, and many interpretations and opinions as to the fight in general conducted by the workers over there. Wise people will turn their telescope upon



**When He Really Organizes Industrially and Internationally
These Smiles Will Be More Frequent**

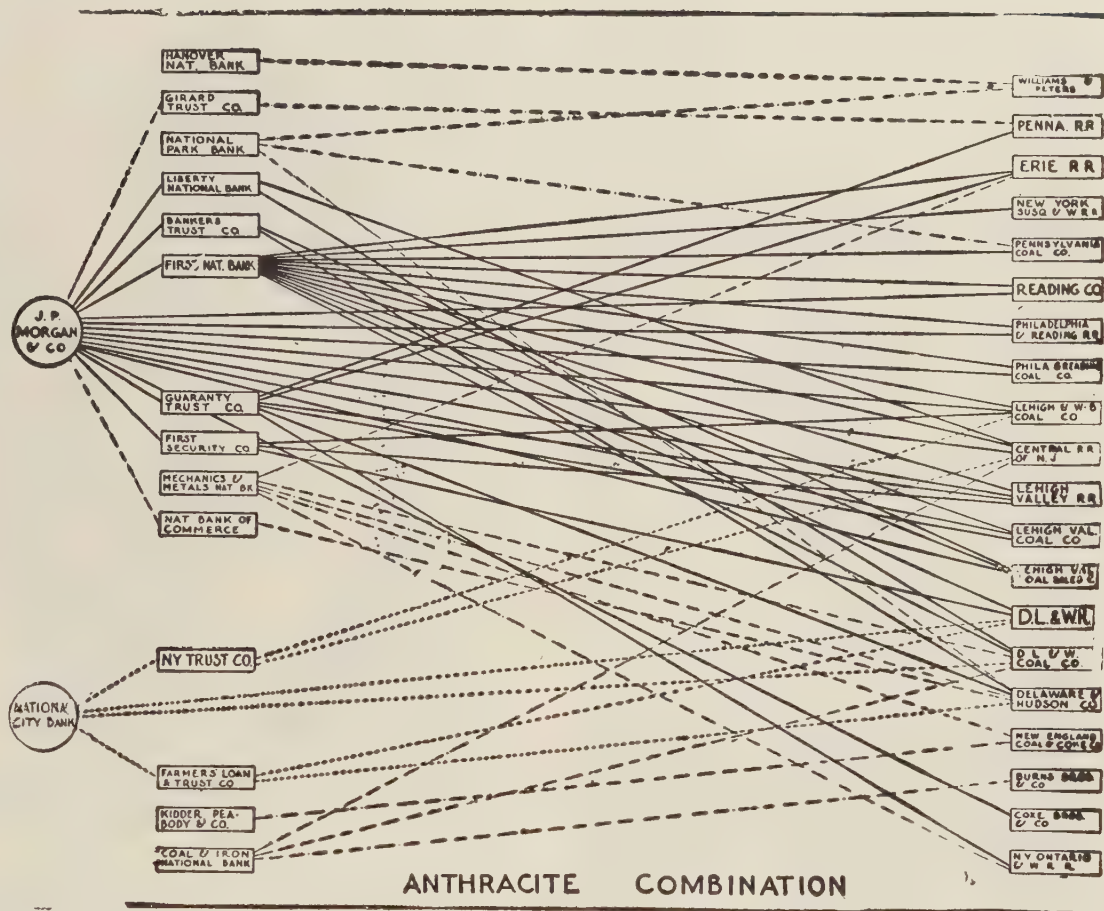
Great Britain and tell us and the astonished world, whether those workers operate wisely, and in conformity to this or that program; whether they are Marxists, Leninists, Socialists, Communists, or some other "ists." We will be so busy discussing the fight in Great Britain that we will have no time to organize over here, just as we have been so busily engaged the last seven or eight years in discussing Russia and Europe in general that we are unable even to secure a job over here at present, no matter how poor it may be.

We Must Develop Our Unionism

If we intend to help the workers in Great Britain or elsewhere we can do it only by helping ourselves. By organizing, as they have done, and are doing, in solid industrial units, and talking together to the boss, not a few hundreds, or a few thousands, but a few millions. One million three hundred thousand workers in Great Britain made their exploiters come to terms. Twice that number in the basic industries of America can accomplish the same feat.

The miners, the railroad workers, marine workers and the steel workers, organized as a class, in solid industrial unions, all of them combined into One Big Union, who speak with one voice and act with one will, is the supreme dictator in America. With those workers organized we will have all the other workers equally well organized. It will then be no talk either about transporting scabs on the railroads or scab coal, neither of handling any scab-produced commodities anywhere. As it is, we threaten the whole world with being the supreme scabs of the world.

A remarkable feature of the British miners' strike is the absence of talk of coercion. We heard



THIS MAP SHOWS HOW THE OWNERSHIP OF THE ANTHRACITE MINES HAS CONCENTRATED, AND THE TWO CHIEF BANKING DICTATORS

nothing about mining coal with bayonets, of running the railroads with machine guns or navigating the merchant marine with torpedoes. Evidently it was found out that such phrases are of no avail when the workers are really organized. Peaceful strikes and the class struggle proceeding without bloodshed depends upon our organized strength on the industrial field. As a matter of fact, once really organized we will attain our goal without even a strike. The settlement in Great Britain indicates this quite clearly.

I. W. W. Tactics Prove Correct

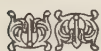
The I. W. W. finds its theories and its principles proven correct in our actual struggles on the industrial field. The I. W. W. is the only organization in the United States that advocates a sound industrial union. It is within the reach of every actual wage worker, through its low initiation fee and its low dues. And through its universal transfer system without any cost to the members, it serves equally well in all industries.

You miners especially, and all you workers in the industries in America, will, similarly to the workers of Great Britain, learn that only on the industrial field lies the real power in society. You will learn that sooner or later you **MUST** organize as industrial units, welded together into One Big Union of all the workers. The only such instrument at your disposal today is the Industrial Workers of the World. We have the tool here already, waiting for you to take it up and use it for your own benefit. Why don't you act? Why permit yourselves and your loved ones to live in misery and starvation when all that is needed is to speak together and act together, and you will enjoy a full and happy life together?

Fellow workers, refuse to be the scabs of the world! Refuse to be an instrument to wrench the fruit of other workers' struggle away from them. Organize together and secure for yourselves what other workers are gathering every day, and eventually make it possible for all the workers to secure for themselves the full social product of their toil.

Join the I. W. W. today.

Industrial Unionism and the Building Trades



By CARD No. 838639



THE history of no industry depicts more clearly the weakness of craft unionism and the necessity of industrial organization than that of the building industry.

In spite of the usual glowing accounts by designing labor leaders and prosperity boosters about the big wages paid in the industry there is probably no class of workers a larger percentage of whom are living in rented homes than they who build the homes and office structures of this country. And despite the relatively high wages paid, in some instances, when we take into consideration lost time from various causes and the speed-up system in vogue, particularly on union jobs, it is doubtful if the average building worker receives as large an income per annum or in proportion to the amount of energy expended as the average in other lines.

True, the worst forms of unionism will sometimes benefit some of the members, thus demonstrating the truism that in union there is strength and the absurdity of the individual trying to go it alone in this age of combinations. Yet there is reason to assume that a broader system of unionism would have done better in the same instance.

Craft Unionism Digging Its Own Grave

In the past the building industry has afforded a fairly fertile field for the development of craft unionism. The different mechanical trades have not been subdivided, or in some cases, completely obliterated as in certain industries. Owing to the peculiar nature of the building industry there has not been the degree of large scale production and labor division that has prevailed elsewhere. Also the craft union leader with his habit of scheming with the small contractor, who has been able to

hold on longer than in most industries, has been able to take advantage of the intermittent character of the work and convert the union into a sort of job-peddling agency and force workers to join and through a system of high initiation fees and dues he has contrived to build up a job monopoly which has greatly enhanced his power and prestige so that the professional labor leader with dictatorial powers has been more conspicuous in the building game than in any other.

However, though it may be true that the worker in the building industry has been able to benefit himself somewhat through craft unionism there is at the same time no reason to doubt that he has generated more sentiment against unionism than any other worker. The high sounding character of the wage schedules has created the impression that he is more exacting and unreasonable in his demands than other workers as the public has not

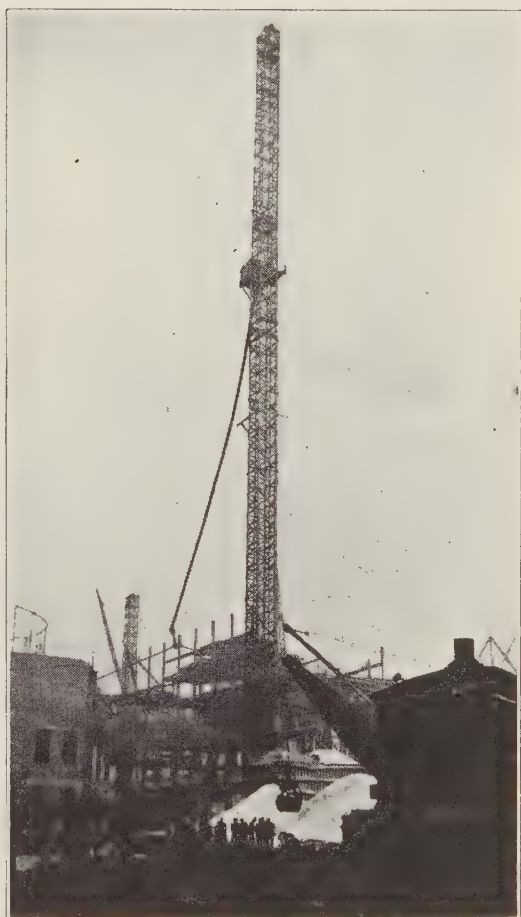
been is the habit of taking into consideration the condition under which he works. Also, in the practice of refusing permission to prospective apprentices to enter the trades, particularly in the case of plumbers and electricians (who have so completely surrounded their jobs with a network of rules and restrictions as to render it practically impossible for a person to get into the trade unless his forbears have been in it before him, for outsiders are forbidden to enter the apprenticeship as long as a member has a son desiring to do so and they have so carefully limited the number usually about five journeymen to one helper or apprentice) as practically to establish a system of hereditary titles and privileges in the building game. It is no wonder, when unions go to this extreme to outrage every principle of decency and fair dealing that they should generate a spirit of antagonism and distrust for all forms of labor organization. Acts of this kind go a long way to bolster up the open shop movement, not only in the building but in all industries, as the act of one union can reflect discredit to all.

Craft Unionism a Fertile Field For Graft

Then there is the question of graft. While graft is not peculiar to craft unionism and will sometimes creep into any organization in spite of "eternal vigilance" there is no denying that there is no more fertile field for graft than the craft union, particularly in the building industry.

To cite a few instances: In a certain city where the writer was fairly well acquainted with the situation it was the custom in the carpenters' union, for the business agent to welcome a non-union carpenter with open arms providing he was willing to put up one-third of the initiation fee of thirty dollars and promise to pay an additional sum of ten dollars per week until it was all paid in. The official would then hustle him a job and keep him at work, in spite of the fact that other members were idle, until the money was paid in and he had collected a few months' dues. Then all at once the new member would learn that his friend was losing interest in him and whenever he showed up at headquarters in quest of a job he would read him an awful tale of woe about slack work. But he soon learned that other new men were being taken on to be later passed to the breadline when they had contributed their share to the fund out of which the official was drawing his fat salary and padded expense account.

The electricians had a different way. Although they were inside wiremen and mostly on dead wires or light voltage at the worst they insisted that every candidate should pass an examination claiming that the extremely hazardous nature of their business of hanging bells and running conduit pipe rendered it unsafe to permit any but thoroughly competent persons to work at the trade. The applicant had not only to pay the exorbitant initiation fee out of which the officials were paid



MODERN METHOD OF POURING CONCRETE FOR SKYSCRAPER

their salaries but had also to grease the itching palms of his henchmen who served on the examining board. They had another neat little scheme for coaxing along a little loose change. There were a number of students at the near by state university studying electrical engineering who were anxious to secure a little practical experience and a few dollars of spending money. So when vacation season rolled around the gang at headquarters were ready to read the idle members the usual tale of woe about slack work while they smuggled the college lads out on the jobs and shook them down for a couple dollars a day for the privilege of working.

Most people have heard of the famous (or maybe we had better say the infamous) Sam Parks. Probably a no more unscrupulous bunch of rowdies ever gathered together in an organization than were grouped around this character in the downtown district of New York. If you were a member of the structural iron workers it was as much as your life was worth to show up around headquarters unless you were in strict accord with the bunch that was running the show. All New York contractors were forced to pay heavy tribute to Sam Parks to prevent their jobs being constantly

tied up in senseless strikes and as long as they paid there was no labor trouble no matter what the conditions were and the small bunch of thugs were kept in line by being handed the choice of jobs and other petty favors. An idea of the extent of his graft can be had from the common report of that time that the most expensively dressed woman in New York was the wife of Sam Parks and of course Sam, himself, was no piker when it came to spreading the change.

Graft and the Industrial Union

One could go on for pages citing instances similar to the above, but these few have only been introduced in the way of examples to show how the craft union furnishes a receptive soil for graft both petty and great. The above could not have occurred in an industrial union of building workers such as Building Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 330, of the Industrial Workers of the World, no matter how many Sam Parkses or crooks of a lesser degree might be working under its jurisdiction. In the first place 330 is a part of the I. W. W. and subject to the general constitution, and under the rules it would be impossible for anyone to stand in the way of any worker getting or holding a job. No one could secure a position in the union where he could dole out jobs to favorites. While members of the I. W. W. always try to assist their fellow workers as much as possible in the matter of securing work by giving out information about jobs and employment, no official is ever allowed to act as a go-between and whenever there are more than seven members on a building they form a job branch and elect their own committees and control the job so that no group around headquarters is permitted to call a strike or say who shall work. A strike can only be called by a majority of the men on the jobs. It is easy to see here that a strike could not be called on or off without the consent of a majority of the men concerned. It is a common thing in the craft unions for an official or ring to call a strike just for the purpose of handling strike funds and to sell out a strike by calling it off just when it is about to win.

Building Industry Ripe For Industrial Unionism

Nothing has so far been said in this article about the many advantages of the industrial form—the "One Big Union" of building workers—over the "57 different varieties" of craft unions with separate contracts expiring at different times and all working on the same building for the same boss. It has been repeated constantly in the last ten years by the speakers and publications of the I. W. W., and without any effort worthy of mention on the part of the opponents of industrial unionism to refute the arguments, so that it has practically come to be recognized that the "One Big Union" for all wage workers is the union of the future. However most workers are simply holding back

waiting for the union to gain more strength, never stopping to think that it is the province of no particular worker to be first and if we would all try to be first instead of waiting for the other fellow the problem of getting the new union started on a large scale would be a very simple matter.

There is no question but that the present is the opportune time for a change in the methods used by the building workers in this country. The building industry is fast falling in line with the more advanced industries and is industrializing the building process and particularly where the open shop has been established the old trade lines are rapidly being obliterated. In San Francisco and vicinity, where for twenty years the building workers boasted of the most solid organization and greatest power of any place in the country, the open shop has been in vogue for four years and only a mere shadow of the old unions remains. Where only a few years ago a carpenter's helper was not allowed to handle tools he now has turned his former work of handling material over to the laborer and with a small kit of tools he works right alongside of the carpenter, it being the rule that the carpenter is to advise the helper and the helper to consider the advice. Otherwise their duties are about the same. In Detroit, the most advanced industrial city in the world, the complete open shop is established in all the different industries and the conditions are deplorable. Men were being sent out from the building exchange employment office during June and July of this year, to wheel brick and concrete for 50 cents per hour. Building mechanics are working at from 75 to 90 cents per hour all through the Eastern Central States, except for a few union jobs in Cleveland, Pittsburg and Chicago. Unskilled men who are not more horses than men should not try to get by on any of the union jobs in the above named towns. They get from 80 to 95 cents per hour if they are horse enough to stand it, but it will even get horse in time.

In fact, unions are in many cases only held together by a system of speeding up and handing it to the little fellow when they get a chance. The wages are higher than in non-union places but to keep up the reputation of your union you often have to do more work than the non-union man you accuse of being cheap. What is the difference between the man who lays fourteen hundred bricks for fourteen dollars and who spends the half of his time chasing a job and the one who lays seven hundred for seven dollars and works all the time?

Proof that Wages Are Smaller In the Building Industry than in Most Other Lines

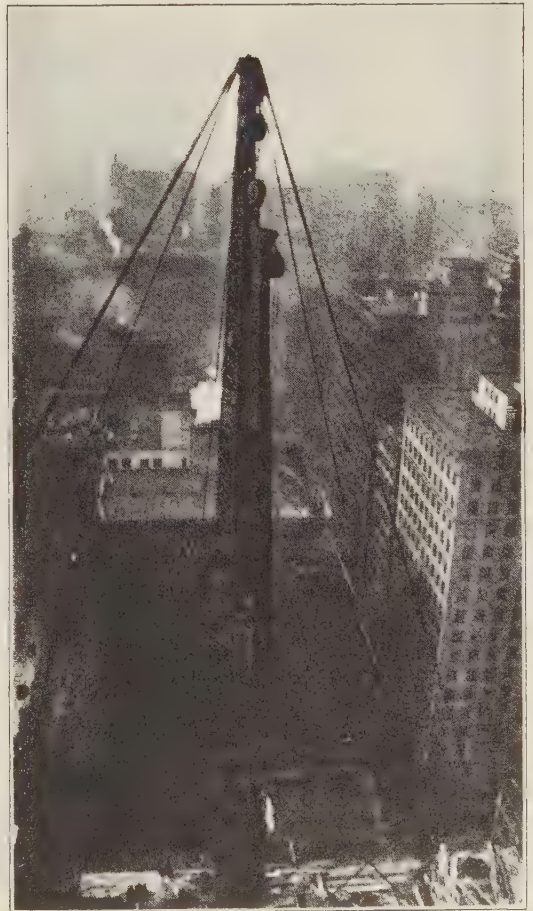
Mention has previously been made of the intermittent character of building work. Take, for example, the most numerous class of building workers, the carpenters. I am certain that the average carpenter cannot bank on more than two hundred days' work a year. When he is not held back by

the weather he is waiting for the laborers to finish the ditches and get the foundation laid or it is a car of lumber that has not arrived on time. He is also lucky if he has not to spend another hundred days hunting the work. Well, a carpenter in Cleveland will get ten dollars a day and the same in Chicago, in Detroit or San Francisco about eight dollars. In Los Angeles he gets about five dollars a day, if he gets anything at all, and in Toledo and other small places from six to seven dollars. It is safe to say that the average for carpenters throughout the country is less than fifteen hundred dollars per year or less than five dollars for the three hundred days that the average man will work if given a chance. This is less than a mail carrier or street car conductor will earn at easier work and with much less skill. Take the next most numerous, the laborers. They may earn between six and seven dollars a day in Cleveland or Chicago; in San Francisco four-fifty to six; Detroit and other eastern cities four dollars and in "Lousy Angels" from nothing to three-fifty. Well they work fewer days than the carpenters, so it is doubtful if they earn seven hundred and fifty a year or two and a half dollars average for the three hundred working days estimated for average work of the steadily employed. They can get a room fit to sleep in in any eastern city for five dollars a week and a meal that will generate the necessary energy to enable them to do the work can be had at a cheap restaurant for fifty cents or they can get board and lodging for ten to twelve dollars a week if they are willing to sleep where they are put and eat what is given them. Being mostly negroes and foreigners they are forbidden to invest in summer cottages on the lake. You know Jews, negroes and foreigners are not allowed to occupy the choice locations in the resorts in the region of the great lakes. Catholics are for the present, at least, recognized as human being in the land of supermen. All the foreign building laborer has to do to be respectable is to remain uncomplaining on the job for five years, learn who is president and the judge will give him a voting permit. With the negro it is simpler still: all he has to do is to stay in his place that has been prescribed for him by his 100 per cent American "superiors." This means that he is not supposed to flash around with white women or sleep in the Hotel Statler with the 25 cents he has left at the end of the week. However he is at liberty to spend it for a shave. It is claimed, by some, that the negro is, more and more, coming to appreciate the great things that he enjoys under the stars and stripes.

Room For Improvement and Condition Not Hopeless

However, we of the I. W. W. believe that there is not only room for improvement in the condition of the building worker but a chance to secure that improvement as well. We also feel that the experience of the last few years teaches that that

improvement cannot be gained by adhering to the wornout system of craft unionism. We feel that we are justified in suggesting that it is the duty of the building worker of today to join the Industrial Workers of the World, for it is not enough that you stop thinking of yourselves as craftsmen and laborers and view your condition from the larger aspect of a building worker, but the time has come for the workers in all industries to realize that they are a part of the working class of the world and that a man working in the building industry in this country is duty-bound to concern himself just as much about the conditions under which the worker works who produces the rubber out of which the tires are made for the truck that furnishes him with the material as the man of his own craft who works alongside of him. Wages, like water, will seek its own level in time and the wages in one industry will be forced to the level of the lower wage industries unless the workers in the other industry are organized and their wages advanced. We find this at present in the coal mining industry. The miners have organized on somewhat broader lines than most workers and for that reason there is no industry where the wages and conditions have improved as those of the coal miners. From being almost the lowest paid workers they have risen to the position of



almost the highest. However, with the campaign that is now being waged against the miners by the big moneyed interests that control the mines, it begins to look as though the miners are soon to take their place against with the lowest paid workers for the non-union fields are being used to flood the market with the products of cheap labor while the union mines are practically idle.

The miners will learn in time that nothing but a union of industrial workers of all the world that will not only include the workers that mine the coal but those who transport it and burn it as well, will suffice to meet the big combinations of capital that today rule the world and the building workers have the same lesson to learn. As long as men are working for starvation wages in the factories the only effect that will follow a rise of wages in the building industry is flooding the industry with masses of men clamoring for the work. An example of this was experienced in a small way right within the industry a few years ago when the wages of the building workers were materially decreased in Los Angeles the San Francisco Bay district was so crowded with a flood of workers that in spite of an unprecedented boom in the building line and their better wages they were worse off than in the southern city, for when one job was finished often more time was consumed trying to locate another than was worked on the last one.

Wages, High Rents and Real Estate Values

In conclusion we will consider the oft repeated claim that the high rents that prevail in this country are due to the "high wages" paid in the building industry.

Strange as it may seem to some, I want to start out by denying emphatically that the wages paid in the construction of a building have anything to do with the price charged for the rental of that building. Rents like wages fluctuate in strict obedience to the law of supply and demand; wages going up when there is a demand for workers and rents going up when there is a demand for houses and vice versa. It is generally supposed that high wages make houses dear and therefore force an increase in the price of rent. This is an error. The amount of wages paid out on a house has nothing whatever to do with the amount charged afterwards in rent for the house or the price for which the house may sell on the market.

What is the reason that rents are higher, say, in Los Angeles than in San Francisco with wages often almost double in the bay cities? They are lower in Chicago and in Cleveland than in Detroit, yet building mechanics work for from one to three dollars per day less and laborers on buildings for almost half.

Now what determines the price of a building? The supply and demand for houses. Not its initial cost. A cottage sells for \$5,000. Why? Simply because under the circumstances there is a suffi-

cient demand for houses like it so that the buyer has reasonable expectations of renting it at a rate that will render the \$5,000 price a good investment. You may also find that the house can be replaced at the present rate of wages and price of material for \$3,500 and you conclude not to build, but when you come to build you will find that you cannot hang your house on a cloud or build it below high tide mark. In other words you need a lot to set it on and when you try to buy a lot you will find that the price of the lot is just \$1,500 and when you investigate the real value of the lot you will find that it is probably worth about twenty-five dollars. How come the other \$1,475? It is simply the difference between the wages you got and the wages you would have got if you had had sense enough to make the boss come through with twenty dollars a day instead of ten when you built the house and in which case the price and the rent would be exactly the same. In other words: when you work cheap you help the speculator and not the consumer of your product.

Another thing to remember: When they tell you that high wages discourages building and creates unemployment they are again spoofing you. If you have any sense you know better. Speculation causes unemployment. There is always more building when wages are high until the speculator gets his work in.

At the present time the country is going through a period of unprecedented real estate speculation. Everybody is going crazy and a hundred lots will be sold for every one that will be built on in this generation. Figuring the average price of a lot at one thousand it means that for every home that will be built ninety-nine thousand dollars that would have otherwise been spent for consumable commodities is being withdrawn from circulation and sunk in the ground. There will be that much less money available to purchase the commodities that were produced when that money was being earned. No wonder jobs are getting scarce!

The remedy is for building workers to join the I. W. W. and make wages so damn high that there will no longer be any speculation in lots. A good way to start would be to make our slogan for next season: "Six hours a day and a dollar and a half an hour as the minimum wage for building workers." This will help some but of course the rest of the workers will have to come to our support by similar demands in the factories.

Have You Subscribed For
The Industrial Pioneer?

Do Not Delay



The Work Peoples College

By KRISTEN SVANUM



IN THE working class movement three trends of thought can be traced. For simplicity's sake they may be called the conservative, the radical political, and the radical industrialist.

The essence of the argument of the conservative trend has been given by the sociologist L. F. Ward among others. It is a very logical argument and presented by him in a forceful and erudite manner. Though his works are much read among unionists, both conservative and radical, it would be a mistake to believe that their educational program is taken from him; but as he covers the ideas of the conservative so admirably, an outline of his main contentions can serve as an outline of their program.

Ward considers all shortcomings in our social system a result of the unequal distribution of knowledge. As long as the struggle between capital and labor, with some degree of correctness, can be described as a struggle between knowledge and ignorance, there can be no hope for labor to be victorious.

For that reason, Ward, and with him practically all the conservatives in the labor movement, see no other possible solution of the social question but through a "wide diffusion of scientific knowledge among the masses."

They point out that the great mass of people are essentially alike, with a small percentage of morons at one end of the scale, and a still smaller percentage of geniuses and near-geniuses at the other end.

While the radicals agree to that, they consider a task of that kind too gigantic to be feasible. They claim with Friedrich Engels, for example, that as long as the workers are working such long hours that they—after the working day is over—consider themselves too tired for study and for participation in the general direction of society, it is utopian to speak of and to aim at a "wide diffusion of scientific knowledge among the masses," and the resultant coming into power of the working class.

For that reason there is a divergence of opinion between radicals and conservatives when it comes to the choice of subjects and aims of labor's educational movement. The radicals claim that on account of the limited supply of funds and men it is wasteful for the labor movement to spend what little it has on education along lines where the class point of view can not be involved.

Sciences like mathematics, chemistry, physics, etc., are normally taught in a straight and unadulterated form by all educational institutions. If a worker wants to study those subjects, he can do so without going to a labor college or school and get as good or perhaps better results than he would get there.

On the other hand there are subjects like history, economics, etc., practically all the social sciences, that are subject to a systematic perversion by educational and scientific institutions that are controlled by the same financial interests controlling the big corporations.

For that reason the radical labor educators want the labor movement to concentrate its efforts on these subjects and only to take up the other and neutral subjects incidentally.

The cleavage among the radicals is caused by the difference in opinion between them as to how the capitalists are controlling society. The Plebs League in England, being one of the most successful movements of political radicals, may be considered a somewhat authoritative expression of that line of thought.

In a Syllabus for Classes, the Economics of Capitalism, in the March 1924 issue of the Plebs Magazine the following question is asked and answered:

"How do the capitalists keep their monopoly?"

By monopoly of political power (a) control over the state. This enables them to control military force, the administration of law, etc. (b) By monopoly of forming opinion—press, education, etc."

As the syllabus has been subjected to "modification and criticism by numerous comrades" it can

hardly be considered unfair to take it as the point of view of the Plebs League on this question.

The radical industrialist takes issue on this point. He can not consider this an explanation; to him explaining one monopoly by another is simply begging the question.

For him the problem is: How can a comparatively small group of capitalists retain their grip on the ownership of the means of production and thereby control the distribution of the products made by them?

It is outside the scope of this article to defend or prove the theories of the radical industrialists, so we shall simply state them here.

Originally the function of the capitalist employer was the direction of work. His ownership of the means of production went unchallenged for two reasons. It seemed in accordance with the tradition of the producer owning his own product, and he was necessary to bring together the means of production and the propertyless wage worker. After they were brought together the work of supervision was done by him, the owner.

In modern industrial society, the function of supervision has gone over to what L. Boudin has called the new middle class. Their income depends on their loyalty to their employer, and they are for that reason, consciously or unconsciously, biased in his favor when it comes to decide whether he is entitled to ownership and control of the means of production and the products turned out by his wage laborers.

This control of industry enables the capitalists to control governments and the agencies formulating public opinion, and not vice versa.

The three trends in labor education are then only reflections of three main currents in the labor movement as a whole. They are not rigidly defined, but merging into each other. They represent here in the United States the point of view of three organization groups: The American Federation of Labor, the socialist and communist parties, and the I. W. W.

The need for education has always been more emphasized by the radicals than by the conservatives, and with their small funds and limited personnel they have been doing much more educational work. One feature of the work has for a long time been neglected though, by radical factions as well as conservative, viz., labor resident colleges.

Only in the last couple of years a new departure has been made by the A. F. of L. in that direction by establishing the Brookwood College, the Rand School having served instead of a residential college for the socialist party and elements in the trade unions sympathetic to it.

But the pioneers in that line of work have been

the Finns. Already in 1906 they started out on the venture of establishing the Work Peoples College, first under the auspices of the Socialist party and later under the auspices of the I. W. W.

It has now functioned continually for 19 years and has in that time enrolled and educated over 1,000 student workers that now are active in the political, union and co-operative movements.

It gives the lie to pessimists who claim that working class and co-operative management is always inefficient. In all its existence it has been able to pay its employees a little over ordinary wages, and at the same time not charge its students any more for board, lodging and tuition than they would be charged in an ordinary boarding house for the same kind of board and lodging alone, and it is in that manner practically giving tuition free.

From a beginning in a small national group it has expanded until it counts among its students workers of all nationalities, including a great percentage of American born.

Its teachers have come from the rank and file of the labor movement and have never left touch with it, though many of them have used their vacations for further study and have graduated from state and other universities.

My experience with the Work Peoples College last winter has convinced me that all programs of action for the labor movement must emanate from inside the ranks of the labor movement itself.

Whatever help the labor movement may have from elements outside its ranks, it is an indisputable fact that such outside material must be absorbed and digested. One of the places where it can go through such a program, and where it can be scrutinized before accepted, is the Work Peoples College.

The Shame of California

This is the title of a new pamphlet to be issued in a few weeks by the General Defense Committee to raise funds for all Class War Prisoners in a Christmas Drive. The pamphlet contains a large number of working class poems inspiringly written by Henry George Weiss, whose excellent revolutionary verse is well known to our readers. He has donated the poems, and all money derived from sales will be used for the Class War Prisoners. The pamphlet is to be sold at 25 cents a copy. A 40 per cent discount will be allowed on orders of 10 copies or more. If you believe in doing all that is possible for the relief and release of Class War Prisoners you should show your spirit by sending in your orders without delay, thereby assuring success to this means of raising money for our prisoners. Address: General Defense Committee, 3333 Belmont Ave., Chicago, Ill.



Defensive?

OUR artist says that this is the way the patriotic jingo views "Uncle Sam" and his neighbors, always picturing "our fellow earthfolk as a savage, blood-thirsty beast about to pounce upon poor, harmless, angelic Uncle Sam, whose sole defense consists of a pea-shooter—and he has no peas!"

Yes, this is a convenient way in which to shift responsibility when military aggressions and wars come. Always the nations are armed **solely** for defense. Although the

world war ended officially seven years ago writers for the different European powers which were belligerents, have been kept busy fixing the blame on the "enemy" for the precipitation of the tremendously savage and destructive conflict.

War is so terrible no state can suffer itself to be regarded the aggressor, yet all of them, proportionate to their power, are aggressive, and capitalist expansion of necessity promotes wars.

American imperialism set in quite definitely at the time of the war with Spain, and American statecraft from that time forward has been assiduously engaged advancing the empire of big business. All the acts of violent invasion, of plunder, of murder that reprehensibly stamp the memories of the Attilas, Khans, Pizarros and Bonapartes have been matched in miniature by the armed forces of the United States in this movement for commercial development. Witness Central America, the Philippines, Hawaii. And what has been done on a small scale is merely a forerunner of what is to follow as the needs of the American ruling class dictate.

When the hired assassins of five powers recently put down the Shanghai strike the first to land were American marines. China looks very appetizing to our master class robbers.



Beyond the Barriers

By WARREN LAMSON

DURING the time that the San Diego free speech fight was in progress, in 1922, among the large number of men held in the city jail, where I too was confined, I met and became friends with a certain man. For the purposes of this narrative, I shall call him Ernest Schultz.

Occasionally, when our various means of whiling away the time palled I sought the end of the top of the cage, where he had his blankets and was usually to be found. He was well past the prime of life even then. He was a tool and instrument maker; and opened up a new and charming philosophical world to my untrained, but curious mind, always using the tenets and principles of tool-making to make his points clear. (Thus in my earliest days in the revolutionary labor movement I learned to think of something to be done, as possible only with an adequate instrument). The old man had not been highly educated, but encompassed the greatest amount of general knowledge I have ever come in contact with. No matter whether it was Marx, Bacon, St. Augustine, Pythagoras, Plato or the latest addition to the world's best thought, he was familiar with them all.

On my coming to Chicago some two years ago I was one day delighted to find that Ernest was living in the city, and particularly when discouraged sought strength from his serene character. And so not many weeks ago I sought him out. Two rooms and a small closet the old man occupies, furnished by purchases from second-hand stores, the outstanding features of his quarters being economy of effort, and books. Books everywhere, on the dresser, the table, the floor and in a hand-made case—a transformed drygoods box—books whose names always inspire me with envy and a desire to possess.

Having seated myself, I exchanged a few comments with the old man; his still massive frame seated upon the bed while I, his guest, had his big soft-cushioned chair. We talked a while longer; the old man turned on the light; till I finally set forth the cause of my discouragement, the apparent unhappy state of the entire revolutionary labor movement in America.

Then Ernest Schultz, as usual when some opening for riding his hobby occurred, began talking; his discourse proceeded first upon the need of a proper instrument to bring about any desired change, and closed with another disquisition upon how mankind would flower and unfold in a free society; during which time I hardly spoke a word, till at last in the early morning hours, he brought his dissertation to a close: A superb and complete statement of the possibilities of the race should certain means be utilized.

I listened rapt with interest, but am able to remember and commit to paper, in my own poor style, only the high points of his long monologue; much of it was too subtle for me to grasp thoroughly enough to reproduce.

The Instrument In the Making

"You will pardon me, I know" began Ernest Schultz "for quoting Nietzsche; but this saying of his is one I like and runs as follows, 'Free from what? What doth that matter to Zarathustra!

Clearly, however, shall thine eye show unto me: free for what?' Of all of the revolutionary groups, the industrial ones are closest to my heart. I first enlisted in the revolutionary movement some forty years ago, when there was not even a concept similar to that of the industrialists, nothing resembling them in thought or organization, but to-day more people accept the conception of an industrial democracy than then accepted the vaguest socialistic ideas.

"The chief trouble with all of the revolutionary groups today is that the new social order they visualize so completely concentrates their attention that they give but scant consideration to the instrument needed for the task they claim their own. In fact, some of them, from all appearances, give less thought to this social tool than the most illiterate clod-buster will give to the choosing of a tool to dig holes in which to set fence posts; this causes them all to the mere observer often to appear as rather shallow, narrow, bombastic phrase-mongers, surely most inadequate to the task they have chosen.

"When one has more knowledge of their methods, then while one is compelled to admit that they have much of value to contribute; that while those who accept the industrial method have even given some superficial thought to the instrumentality, they are still a long way from the perfected organization. He is also compelled to come to the conclusion that should the next step in social development be one in which the working class shall achieve freedom from economic exploitation, that the instrument they must wield is still in the process of development.

"Now, when we consider any job to be tackled, we must also consider the means—which must never be confused with the end—we will use, in this case, a working class organization, but this does not sufficiently describe the instrument needed. Just as a mass of unshaped iron is neither a sledge nor a spade, just so it is necessary to give shape

and purpose to the mass, before it can be termed an instrument. Very well, the premise that the next social change shall be one in which the working class shall achieve freedom from economic exploitation, necessarily carries with it the supposition that the social structure or organization achieved shall be one which is concntral and founded on democratic principles, with a complete absence of any high degree of centralized authority, and this requires as a prerequisite that the instrument shall be likewise constructed—you cannot mold an injector by pouring molten metal into a water bucket.

"Now that I have opened up three subjects often liable to misinterpretation, I shall define in what sense I employ them. The first is democracy, this term, so I am informed by all historians, was used to designate the social organization of the ancient Greeks. Now, as ancient Greece consisted of city or town states, it follows that the citizens of one such city had nothing to say; no voice, no vote in the affairs of another. Thus "Demos" the rule of the people implied the rule of a quite limited number of persons, in an exactly defined district or locality, over themselves. So I employ the term to imply that the franchise of no person shall be extended into all matters, not equally important to all. That it shall be limited to those concerned, and extended only on matters in which all are equally concerned. Thus, textile workers in Lowell, Massachusetts, would have complete autonomy over their work, free from all interference from textile workers elsewhere, and all other groups of workers any place, with the exception of those matters which are of equal concern to the textile workers elsewhere, or the people of the locality, district or continent as a whole.

"The second is the absence of any high degree of centralized authority. (There would be a central authority, with greater power than any body now in existence, but it would be limited in scope, and would not unnecessarily obtrude itself upon, nor drain, the units composing the social system which it governed) which is not democratic, but which also implies a separate governing class, a bureaucracy, or some method of administration which would be the negation of freedom from economic exploitation.

"The third, that the instrument must be constructed in a similar pattern to the social change or order to be achieved.

"A view of the social changes taking place in the world today, shows that these changes proceed closely along lines contained in dominant ideas accepted by the people undergoing them; thus a dominant idea that labor is vile may render the most brilliant minds sterile, in all but mental gymnastics and subtleties, as in most of the ancient world, including Greece, which was based upon slavery and held labor vile. A dominant idea that the body is vile, and its pleasure abominable would have an entirely different effect from its opposite.

Very well, the nexus between the idea to be made dominant and the nature and structure of the instrument is obvious, that is, an organization cannot differ in theory and practice without the theory becoming perverted.

"Then there remains but one way for the instrument to be shaped. All constructive power and administration of detail must reside within the industrial division and as much as possible within the economic unit of the division. Over and above such units and divisions must stand the inhibitive administration of the whole of them. Such inhibitions must of a necessity be few, and must have the support of more than a majority of the populace to become operative; for a society with a tradition of freedom, and a complete absence of economic enslavement, will not otherwise submit to the enslavement of its units by the mass. One of the outstanding reasons why the revolutionary groups of today cannot be said to have a perfect instrumentality is the prevalence of a type whose impulse is to regulate all life to a uniform pattern, and this noxious type feels the impulse to punish any violation of their drab uniformity. They speak the language of the hangman. Their hands like the "crooked claws of Deipeithes" feel the itch of the noose. This type would pervert all of our visions of the future; not satisfied with economic security and adequate educational methods in an Industrial Democracy they would seem to desire to regulate all of the aspirations, appetites and passions in their vision of that future day.

"You will see that the final instrument is separated by a wide gulf from any of the groups employing bureaucratic methods today, and should the next step in social development be one in which the working class attempt to gain such a state of freedom as that with which we are here concerned be subject to the domination of this obnoxious type, the result would be entirely different from that of the true instrument, for the two are directly opposed in method. One means more freedom for the creative powers, and for the production of higher types through a system of self-government; the other tends to rob both the units and the individuals of initiative; to paralyze every attempt at unapproved innovation. The bureaucrat hates the zealous innovator; they are natural enemies.

"Worthwhile social regulation really extends the sphere of action for the individual and only when such regulation is easily altered or terminated does it avoid the possibility of becoming a social hindrance; this is not easily done in a bureaucratic system, it usually requires years of preparation and a final revolt to do so in such a system.

"Every bureaucratic system tends to engender and develop slavish traits, so that such an attempt at freedom on the part of the toilers might really result in a slave state, where the workers of course have economic security, their lot in life greatly improved, but still are enslaved, carrying

upon their shoulders the authoritative state; a hideous incubus of octopus-like centralism, parasitically sucking its nourishment from the creative elements of society, leaving the units drained and impotent. A true slave state, with two rigid classes: the toiling people and the bureaucratic officials.

"Liberty comes as a challenge to every slavish trait, the master's iron hand and keen lash cannot comfort our perverted bodies and senses: only by assuming the responsibility of freemen as a whole, can anything of value come from the attempts of the workers. A spirit of freedom must be inculcated before the burdens and problems of freedom can be successfully borne and negotiated.

"Liberty inspires all of the qualities needed for success of the new society, and must find a cherished home in the consciousness of an instrument; not a cold sterile cage of meatless words. She has as yet to find such a home in the consciousness of the revolutionary movement.

"The mental integrity of the movement must be raised, the personnel must learn to face realities; organization loyalty must ever be traded upon. The spirit of the warrior must be evolved; the spirit of the warrior yes, but the spirit of the soldier—never! Upon the instrument the shadow of the reformer must not fall.

"All standards of organization values of the past must be purged of their slavish taint. It is a new world we would create—we must also create new concepts—new values—new methods and this burden must fall upon the industrialists wherever found."

The Flowering of Mankind in the Industrial Democracy

The old man paused, slowly refilled his pipe—lifted the quart bottle of the strong blood of the grape from the table—then again slowly replaced it, and again broke silence.

"You will pardon me again, I know," said Ernest, "for recalling another love quotation from 'Zarathustra,' one which suits my purpose well. 'And this is the secret,' spake Life herself unto me, 'Behold,' said she, 'I am that which must ever surpass itself.'"

"The most important thing that would happen to man from living under an industrial democracy would be the unshackling of the mind; the removal of many inhibitions and restrictions, which tend to abort all attempt to produce a more perfect, though greatly varied race.

"Society, in the Industrial Democracy, would largely resemble, very much so at first, the one before it; we might say that its beginning would be the emerging of the embryo. The basis of man's welfare would still be production, but all would be producers, and industry would speedily be re-organized. It is through studying and understanding the industrial processes that man must then enslave all of the productive agencies for his service—that he may have a greater freedom. It is

something hard for us to conceive of, the latent ability of man to create a slave class of cold unfeeling steel and machinery. While under the existing economic system, the tendency is for the worker to become a slave of the titanic machine he operates; but everyone's freedom will be bound up in these problems, and so we may expect that these problems will be at once attacked and shortly solved.

"Today life is too largely mechanical, our pleasures require but little cerebration; indeed a dominantly mechanical culture is one of the outstanding features of life today, but only so because the avenues to a higher culture and pleasures requiring more cerebral activity are quite definitely blocked. Under industrial democracy, the mechanical phase of life will be limited to its proper place.

"Government shall pass away, the organization and administration of a free people shall take its place. Each will be an administrator, the ones in office will merely be those chosen or elected from all, whose place can be filled at a moment's notice from the whole. Rigid organization will gradually loosen its bonds and man will form voluntary associations for following mutual pursuits, during the time they are free from industry. Mankind no longer driven by antagonistic interests will be able to live in peace. It is axiomatic that with each step higher in degree of organization mankind's efficiency increases, the results of the increase derived from attaining an industrial democratic organization will be the prosperity of all, and not the prerogative of a class. It has long been known that the seeking to satisfy desires and to abolish boredom causes the performance of all of the activities necessary to the welfare of any organism. Laws always operate to prevent the free activities of some section of society. We live under so many laws today, laws that no one respects, laws that can be broken with no harm to one's fellowmen, that it is well-nigh impossible for us to glimpse the new society—with no government, no law—merely regulation, largely confined to the extremely limited time required to man the industrial processes. Yet even today men's lives are not run by laws, that is, men do not walk abroad with a policeman dogging every step to prevent their violating a law. No, the law usually manifests itself as a class instrument. It is aimed at large groups for the benefit of its wielders, or used for the protection of property, the new order will not have the slightest need of them.

"Under industrial democracy, the crude culture founded upon a slave system will pass away, and a new one arise founded upon the worth of labor; all of the old art standards will fall, and a better music seduce the ear; and man will still march forward, glorious discontent will still be his running mate; soon he will even throw off the limited restrictions of the early years of that order and attain happiness in a society consciously and intelligently anarchistic. It is only a slave system

that tolerates laws, man living for a short time at liberty will develop those qualities needed for free association. Scientific knowledge shall be as widespread as superstition and ignorance are today or have ever been. Indeed under capitalism complete truthfulness seems to be entirely absent. It is doubtful if a man capable of the whole truth is to be found among the entire human race today.

"It is shameful that anyone thinking or speaking of this grand workers' commonwealth should for one moment be interrupted by the question of race or sex. Yet how many of our little movements of today rise superior to these questions? The new society is for the race, not a race or a sex. Racial hatred is always most violent, most strongly entrenched in the consciousness, where men have the least culture. The answer, of those who preach the new order, to the question voiced by James Weldon Johnson in these lines:

To America

How would you have us, as we are—
Or sinking 'neath the load we bear?
Our eyes fixed forward on a star—
Or gazing empty at despair?

Rising or falling? Men or things?
With dragging pace or footsteps fleet?
String, willing sinews in your wings?
Or tightening chains about your feet?

must be direct to all races: and ye labor. Ye are our own.

"But women today do not occupy a position of equality in any race, and throughout the consciousness of the revolutionary movement, this attitude of sexual equality must be nourished. It is not done today. The industrial democracy, in conferring racial and sexual equality upon the race, will have taken the greatest step forward in history towards social regeneration, the completion of humanity.

"The court calenders are filled with what are called divorce and matrimonial cases, they should in fact, to be properly termed, be called property cases, since always the elements of property or livelihood are the factors upon which all turn. Under industrial democracy women will be free as well as men; there will arise no question of property or support, while the children, no more child slaves, or the parents' toys, will be the product of nurture.

"What will be developed in the new order, and what should now be fostered by those who work to realize it, is not a mere legal or union status, but an attitude of equality towards race and sex; it is not what either may do but the liberty to do. Thus it is not so essential that women should become lumberjacks or sand-hogs, as the bringing about of an attitude where their doing so would occasion no astonishment, where a member of another race, than the one at any place or time dom-

inant, may rise to the position of foreman or superintendent, and other positions of direction on merit without opposition. Sex privileges must go, sexual differences may remain—while racial amalgamation must be free, for with industrial democracy must enter a society in which mass interests, the interests of humanity supersede the interests of any mere section.

"It is said that the heat received by the entire surface of the world is equivalent to the burning of one hundred millions of tons of coal a minute. The wind contains more energy than that of the coal deposits of the earth. Can this great force be harnessed? What undiscovered, undreamed of fields and planes of life are still left for discovery and exploitation? Our senses are limited and much falls outside their range, but science answers with tools of sense, by which we gradually bring all under the possibility of perception and use; the world of the microscope is alien to the naked eye, undoubtedly there are other worlds yet to be exploited simply because the instruments for their perception are not as yet perfected. Much of this work of discovery must be the work of a free people.

"Under industrial democracy, both the moral systems and the moralists shall pass away, once the process of social labor is well entrenched, and a true social conscience is matured, and a general scientific understanding fills the place in the mind and character, now occupied by religion, superstition and ignorance. All the happiness that the talent of the race can create will be there, all of the suffering that science can prevent will be absent; and the race with no antagonistic material interests to pervert it will rise superior to the need of morals or ethics, which in the present society only minimize the friction of clashing interests. No class interests equals no morals, no ethics.

"Today we find many scholars advancing the view that the greatest need is the development of a higher type of man; but roses do not grow on brambles, and it can only be in that freer society—industrial democracy—that the true flowering of the race can take place. Misery and poverty are not the only degrading influences, as such scholars and the reformers seem to thing. The fear freely to speak one's convictions, to suffer quietly outrages from fear of that form of discipline whose lash falls upon the aspirations cannot be compensated by hygienic housing, or economic security based upon slavish compliance. The present social order places a premium upon servility, fawning and deception, fully equal if not greater than upon real merit; these cannot exist under an industrial democracy. They cannot be eliminated in a slave society.

"Under industrial democracy men and women will stand upright, with no cause to deceive or lie, the countenance need no longer be a poker mask; each mind may be an open book that all may read. The new social order will annihilate all that is ugly, and all unnecessary bodily ills. Mankind will tread

the earth truthful, healthy and happy masters.

"Is man as we know him final, or shall a new future race spring from the loins of our own? Only the story of the free race can answer this question, but matter and spirit are one; all of the elements necessary for the production of man and intelligence have existed as long as the universe. All that was needed for both to arise was proper conditions and organization. Possibly the elements or materials necessary for something superior to man and his limited intelligence and senses may under proper conditions be evolved, or formed by the proper combination of world long existent elements. This is a question that the present society cannot well approach; only a free and fully developed race could give birth to such a new one, should it be in the realms of possibility.

"Though the forces that stand between us and this glorious industrial democracy are great, they are not greater than man has already overcome;

and he marches to the attack today armed with greater knowledge than ever before. 'We grasp the torch of science to light the path to power.' And after all it is so little that is required of us all, merely to enter into the knighthood of the true and the beautiful, to encourage the highest traits both in ourselves and others; to cease deceiving. To cease being bombastic. To drive out the hideous spirit that would force all to conform to some mean set by a group, no matter how large the group or how high their standard."

The old man paused, remained silent for some time, then resumed: "Yes, my boy, it's all there beyond the barriers, where we may dream and visualize but never go; and yet the workers shall scale them and force an entry for all, where the men and women of the entire race shall live in one great harmonious community of interests: and the 'rainbow-hued bridge' is the perfected instrument, forged free from all the dross of slavish traits."



All Power to the Workers!

In the September issue of The Industrial Pioneer W. C. Ould wrote in "The Lust for Power" these scathing words:

"American labor leaders fear the assumption of power."

The Industrial Worker of Seattle is one of the few—all too few—publications in America which is vigorously opposed to the expression of that fear.

"The powerless are always slaves." In opposition to that fact, the motto of the Industrial Worker is this: GET POWER! The editorial staff is imbued with the theory that once power is attained, every avenue of human progress will be opened to its expression. Power is the first and most necessary requisite for the workers in their struggles.

You cannot be well informed on the working class movement of America unless you read the Industrial Worker, which raises the cry in every issue.

Do not lose any time about it, but send your subscription to the Business Manager of the

Industrial Worker.

ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS!



THE OUTBREAK
By Käthe Kollwitz
(From the "War of the Peasants")
By Courtesy of Emil Richter Verlag, Dresden, Germany

Rosa Luxemburg, Her Life and Letters

By JOSEPHINE ELLSWORTH.



THIS PICTURE SHOWS THE MASSES
IN REVOLT—A CONDITION FOR
WHOSE ACHIEVEMENT ROSA
LUXEMBURG GAVE UP
HER LIFE



The letters reprinted here that were addressed to Luise Kautsky have been published by Robert McBride and Company, New York. ("Letters of Rosa Luxemburg." Price, \$2.50.) The book contains a long foreword by Mrs. Kautsky, and the work was translated by Louis P. Lochner, formerly foreign correspondent to the Industrial Worker. The letters sent to Sophie Liebknecht were published by H. S. Hermann and Company, Berlin, SW, in a volume called "Rosa Luxemburg, Letters from Prison."

THAT race which struck for freedom from the shackles of ancient Egyptian taskmasters, and followed its Moses out of Africa to find a happier land, has given humanity many voices of protest rising high to make known the feelings, the aspirations and the determinations of those who were dissatisfied with the perennial kingdom of injustice and who would see established social relations consistent with the wellbeing of the greatest number.

The child of a Warsaw merchant of this Jewish race, Rosa Luyemburg was born on May 5, 1871. Her father's circumstances were good, which made it possible for him to give his children many educational advantages. Rosa was a serious student and by the time she was sixteen she had studied anthropology and history, and was especially interested in economics. We are told that Morgan, Bachofen, Lubbock, Kowalewski and other sociologists, with Marx and Engels made up her main diet of reading. An ambitious program for so young a girl.

Harsh legislation designed to affect revolutionaries and to discourage socialist thought, made Poland an environment not conducive to the good of Rosa Luxemburg's plans, and when only sixteen she left her native land to enter Switzerland, that asy-

lum of revolutionaries harboring those who had been obliged to flee from the police of their own countries.

Companionship among those of her own kind in Berne and Zurich had a happy effect upon her, and she developed rapidly for the work to which she intended to devote her life. Her professors were as one in declaring her their most promising student, and in the group where she found herself by those gravitational forces pulling radicals together, she was a leading spirit. In due time, and quite early, her writings appeared in socialist organs, and for many years she contributed articles to the "Neue Zeit," the official publication of the German social democracy, founded by Karl Kautsky in 1883 and edited by him until 1916. She also contributed to other socialist papers.

With two doctor's degrees, philosophy and jurisprudence, acquired, Rosa left Switzerland for Paris to study the socialist movement. However, her greatest desire was to go into Germany and take an active part in the movement growing rapidly in that country. Being a Russian, she could not take a full-fledged part unless she employed the scheme used by other outsiders, that of marrying a German national. She married Gustave Lubeck for this purpose, and immediately after the ceremony was performed they separated. Rosa was now a German citizen, and she lost no time in joining the German social democracy. Her knowledge of Marxian economics enabled her to play a prominent part in the debate against Bernstein revisionism, which was definitely reformistic. At that time Kautsky headed the Marxians. Rosa then became associate editor of the "Neue Zeit," and she soon earned the hatred of the capitalist class.

In 1904 she was jailed for the first time, her prison being in Zwickau, and the offense being *lese majeste*. This incarceration was terminated when the Saxon king died and his successor proclaimed a general amnesty to political offenders. Rosa protested, not caring to be the object of an enemy's mercy, but she was freed with the rest.

When the storm clouds of revolution gathered in Russia in 1905 Rosa left Germany for the scene, and for two months she was able to outwit the tsar's secret police. At length, however, she was arrested and imprisoned at Warsaw. From there she writes to Luise Kautsky (the wife of Karl Kautsky):

Beloved:

For a long time I haven't written you. In the first place, because I was given hopes from day to day that I might possibly be able to telegraph you, "Auf Wiedersehen!" and secondly, because I was very industrious and yesterday completed the third pamphlet since staying here (two are already being printed, the third will be "inked" in three days). In my former quarters it was impossible to work, hence I had to make up for lost time here. Besides, I really have only a few hours in the evening at my disposal—from 9 o'clock to about 2 at night; for during the day from 4 o'clock in the morning there is a hellish noise in the whole house and in the yard; the "common" colleagues are forever quarreling and screeching, while the "myschuggen" ones have attacks of madness, which of course in the case of the fair sex usually vent themselves chiefly in a remarkable activity of the tongue. N. B. I have proven here, as well as at the city hall, to be an effective *dompteuse des folles*, and I must put in my appearance daily to quiet down with a few soft words some rabid orator who brings all the world to distraction (evidently this is an *hommage involuntaire* to an even greater gift of gab!). So that I can collect my thoughts and work only late at night, and that meant that I partly neglected my correspondence. News from you always gives me

great and lasting joy, for I keep reading your letter through several times until a new one arrives. Henrietta's dear message, too, gave me great pleasure. I would write her especially, except that—yes, except that today I have once again been given flowers "for the last time" (I really receive fresh flowers here almost daily). * * * * So let us see what happens tomorrow. I am rather skeptical and continue my work as though all this didn't concern me. * * * * Your letter, dearest Lulu, was brought me today. You are touching upon the question of my flat. I should like to ask you to continue advancing the rent for it. I am so happy in anticipation of being once again in my "red" and "green" rooms. In any case I needn't move before the late fall, and need not give notice until July 1st. By that time I shall have clear sailing ahead of me and can make my decision. As far as my plans for traveling are concerned, things stand as follows: in the very near future (in reality by Easter) I must urgently look, not for a milder, but for a **much rougher** climate; I suppose I shall choose the slightly circuitous route of the black-white posts. (This is a reference to Prussian frontier posts.) But I sha'n't remain there too long—only about three weeks. And after that—where? Of course I have no thought of evading the Weimar uncle (She means the prosecuting attorney, as a case was then pending against her. The veiled language was employed to avoid censorship.), no matter what his intentions may be—provided only—as is often wont to happen, he leaves me unmolested for awhile and delays meting out the thick end. (A plastic picture!) To fall into his hospitable arms without any interlude—for a thing like that I certainly haven't the time now, and more important matters claim my attention. Therefore, my beloved friends, try to find out through well-versed Thebans, not what final result is in store for me, for that is a matter of utter indifference to me, but whether I shall not, just as soon as the tip of my nose begins to smell royal-Prussian liberty (with me the nose always projects before everything else), be seized by that selfsame nose and be "put in the cooler" for my escapade. That is the only point that interests me. I shall have heaps to tell you about my "travel impressions" when once we are together again, and we shall laugh ourselves crooked, especially the boys. I find everything here very jolly. Especially do I take a thievish delight in all the "indecentencies" that I manage to send out daily and that are returned to me again after a day or two "black upon white." * * * * The only melancholy news is that coming from the North Pole (Petersburg). Authentic news—which unfortunately reports a big hullabaloo and the absence of any decisiveness or "pen." "Thither, thither would I go as soon as possible" * * * * Kreuzhageldonnerwetter! I believe I would shake all the people there and stir them till they were blue and brown! I hope I'll have the chance to do so.—Oh, what an ass, what a rhinoceros I am! I forget the most important thing until the end: I

am of course reading your "Ethics" for the second time; I asked for and obtained it at once when I was buried here. I take delight in every line and congratulate you! Keep one copy with dedication ready for me. I embrace and kiss you all heartily Granny, Carolus, Lulu and all the boys with Hans at the head. (Provided you find that his morals can stand this one more blow.) Moreover, "this kiss to the whole world" that is asking about me.

Heartily,
Your Rosa.

Write soon.

The cheerful tone of this letter from a prison cell is the keynote of all the many letters Rosa Luxemburg sent from prisons during her many incarcerations. She had a singularly happy nature, and was able to buoy up her spirits by plans, dreams, pleasant memories. After activity that never slackened through the years from the days of this letter in 1906, she was arrested for opposition to military abuses and spent a year in prison from February, 1915, until February, 1916.

During this period she wrote the following letter

From the Barnim street Jail, 20-1-16.

Beloved Lulu:

You are very much mistaken if you think that your visit has not been as refreshing and given as much joy to me as it did to you. And "trifles" don't exist for me as far as you are concerned; everything is important and of the greatest interest. Only, during the brief time I could unfortunately not learn everything I wanted to know from you.

But I have convinced myself that you are at work again, active and cheerful and just as of old, and that fact has given me great joy. About everything else—soon, in full freedom. Dearest, it is really better that we wait four more short weeks and then sit on the "red sofa" at Südende with the kind assistance of Mimi. That your visit might in any way tire me or be an exertion for me, as you fear, is of course out of the question. But "on general principles" I should prefer to be modest and contain myself in patience until the end.

You are asking whether I am making any plans with reference to a milder climate for recuperation. "Ask the horse," replied the Sunday rider when people asked him whither he was galloping. You forget that different gentlemen are interested in me: for instance, the state's attorney at Düsseldorf, the local state's attorney, Comrade von Kessel, etc. Whether they can spare me in the Mark in the immediate future or not, and what their intentions are with reference to me—that it something we'll have to see as it develops. Hence I cannot be so indelicate as to simply make "plans" over their heads. I cannot deny that I have just about had my fill of the gray-colored Berlin sky and that I would have no objection to breathing a different

air for even a brief time; but if, as does not seem unlikely, nothing comes of such a plan, we shall have to bear this as well. Südende, too, is "a pretty piece of country." You have never really appreciated the natural beauties of that region. I hope you will soon make up for lost time. At least write me another line meanwhile. I hug you many times.

Your Rosa.

Many thanks for Dietzgen's little volume, also for the greetings.

N. B. We entirely forgot to talk about little Kate.

The war was raging, Germany's sons were dying, as were those of so many other nations, and the social democracy had failed. Luxemburg and Liebknecht were both in prison most of the time, for they espoused the same course which had no place for yellow socialist compromises. German nationalism was too strong a tide for most of these, and with their defection was that of Karl Kautsky, and a consequent breach widened, never to be closed, between that man and Rosa. But the other Karl stood up big and great, like Luxemburg, belonging to the world's masses and crying for their awakening in a voice that nothing but death could silence.

The last letter Rosa wrote to Luise Kautsky was on July 25, 1918. There are, however, other letters published which were written by her at a later date. A letter written in May to Sophie Liebknecht (Karl's wife) shows much of the beauty of this woman's character. It was written from prison.

Breslau, May 12, 1918.

Sonichka:

Your little note gave me so much pleasure that I must answer it at once. You see what enjoyment you got out of your visit to the Botanical Gardens, and how enthusiastic you are about it. Why don't you go there oftener? I assure you that it means a great deal to me when you promptly record your impressions with such warmth and color. Yes, I know those wonderful crimson flowers of the spruce-fir. They are so incredibly beautiful (as, indeed, are most other trees when in bloom) that one can hardly believe one's eyes. There are the female flowers, out of which the great cones grow, to hang point downwards when their weight increases, beside them are the far less conspicuous pale-yellow male flowers of the spruce, the ones that furnish the golden pollen.—I don't know the "pettoria." You write that it is a kind of acacia. Do you mean that it has pinnate leaves, and has blossoms like those of the sweet pea, thus resembling the pseudo-acacia? I suppose you know that the tree commonly spoken of as the acacia is really a "robinia." The true acacia is a mimosa; it has sulphur-yellow flowers with an intoxicating perfume; but I don't think it would grow in Berlin in the open, for it is a sub-tropical plant. When I was in Corsica, at Ajaccio, in December, I saw splendid mimosas, huge trees, blooming in the great square. . . . Here, unfortu-

nately, I can only watch the crests of the trees that show over the top of the wall a long way off. I see them turning green, and try to guess their species from the tint and general shape. The other day some one brought a fallen branch into the house. Its strange aspect attracted much attention, and every one wanted to know what it could be. It was an elm! Do you remember how in my own street in the South End I showed you an elm laden with fragrant pinkish-green clusters? This was in May, too, and you were delighted with the wonderful sight. Here people live for years and decades in a street planted with elms without ever "noticing" what an elm tree looks like when it is in flower. They are just as unobservant as regards animals. Most townfolk are really barbarians.

For my part, however, my interest in organic nature is almost morbid in its intensity. A pair of crested larks have one young bird—no doubt the other three have come to a bad end. This little one can already run. You may have noticed the quaint way in which crested larks run. They trip along with short, hasty steps, not like the sparrow which hops on both feet. This young lark can fly quite well by now, but is not yet able to find its own food (insects, grubs, etc.) at any rate while the weather is still so cold. Every evening in the court beneath my window, it utters its sharp, plaintive pipe. The old birds promptly put in an appearance, answering with a soft and anxious "tweet, tweet," and they hustle about to hunt up some food in the chill evening twilight. As soon as they find anything, it is stuffed down the throat of the clamorous youngster. This happens evening after evening at about half past eight, and when I hear the shrill note of the fledgeling and watch the eager solicitude of the parent birds I have quite a pang. I can do nothing to help, for these crested larks are timid. If I throw out crumbs they only fly away, being very different from the pigeons and the sparrows, which follow me about like dogs. It is no use for me to tell myself not to be silly, seeing that I am not responsible for all the hungry little larks in the world, and that I cannot shed tears over all the thrashed buffaloes in the world (they still come here day after day drawing the lorries laden with bags). Logic does not help me in the matter, and it makes me ill to see suffering. In the same way, though the chattering of the starling during the livelong day is tiresome, at times, if the bird is silent for a day or two, I get no rest from the feeling that something must have happened to it. I wait and wait for the nonsense talk to be resumed, so that I can be reassured as to my starling's safety. Thus passing out of my cell in all directions are fine threads connecting me with thousands of creatures great and small, whose doings react upon me to arouse disquiet, pain and self-reproach. You yourself, too, belong to this company of birds and beasts to which my nature throbs responsive. I feel how you are suffering because the years are passing beyond recall without your being able really to "live"!

Have patience, and take courage! We shall live none the less, shall live through great experiences. What we are now witnessing is the submergence of the old world, day by day another fragment sinks beneath the waters, day by day there is some fresh catastrophe. The strangest thing is that most people see nothing of it, but continue to imagine that the ground is firm beneath their feet.

Sonichka, do you happen to have "Gil Blas," and "The Devil on Two Sticks" or can you get them for me? I have never read Le Sage's books, and have long wanted to do so. Do you know them? If you have not got them, buy them in a cheap edition.

Much love,

Your Rosa.

Write soon to let me know how Karl is.

Having been liberated by the German Revolution in 1918 Rosa entered the struggle with great energy and in that encountered the hostility of the new so-called socialist regime. Noske was in charge of the troops. Presently she and Liebknecht were again arrested and placed under guard in the Hotel Eden. Ordered from the building some time later she was struck, as she stepped on the sidewalk, on the head with the butt of a gun in the hands of a non-commissioned officer named Runge. Picked up and thrown into an automobile she showed signs of life and this was then extinguished by a gun shot through the head. Liebknecht met a similar fate.

Rosa's corpse was found floating in a river some days later. A story was circulated by the authorities that she had been killed in a street fight. One fact stands out clearly: she stood by her convictions in every hour of stress, and made no attempt to



Käthe Kollwitz's "Bread"

By Courtesy of Emil Richter Verlag, Dresden, Germany

leave Berlin even when she had the opportunity to do so.

Thus died in the prime of life one of the most stirring characters ever known to revolution. She combined great intelligence and almost phenomenal activity, a union of attributes seldom found. She believed in a better world for the workers and she spent her whole life in doing what she could to advance that cause. While theoreticians by the score sought the safety of their studies, Rosa Luxemburg was proclaiming the needs of the times and fighting a brave fight to rouse the masses. For them she lived, and in their struggle she died.

She believed with Liebknecht that "The hour of the people is here," and they called for action by the people. During forty years the social democracy of Germany had been building its power. But this power was legislative, its scene was in the Reichstag and had no more to do with industry than that of liberal parties the world over in catching votes by presenting industrial reform platforms. So the people were not ready; they had been lied to and looked to representatives whose interests were not their own. These representatives constituted a

parliamentary salariat and they stood for the old order in the crisis.

What has been the result? Starvation has been the portion of the German workers, sometimes with the intensity of famine, always partial at least. They are as dumb, driven cattle, while their masters amass fortunes never before dreamed of. Better far had they responded to the call to arms of the Spartacans, to have heard the cry of Liebknecht and flung themselves into the battle for their own destiny with the courage of Luxemburg.

Her life is an example of devotion to the ideal of human brotherhood based on the abolition of capitalism, that may well be an inspiration to all revolutionary workers. Her memory is cherished by all who truly feel the urge to smash these chains that bind the working class. With time's passage must come the downfall of those elements of the socialist-bourgeois coalition that destroyed Rosa Luxemburg, and with it must crumble the system of capitalism. In that hour, "The hour of the people," her memory will be clearer and dearer to men. With the new order she stood courageously challenging the old disorder, and her name is immortal.

Unorganized vs. "Organized" Labor

By C. A. PIERCE

JUST when is a union not a "dual union"? I asked myself the other day.

Who, other than the "constituted authorities," have the right to say when a union is and is not "dual," is or is not "legitimate"?

If only the "duly constituted authorities," then why have not Presidunce Green and his Comintern, who are certainly the only "duly constituted authority" in the great and only American (imported from England) Federation of Labor, the right to declare all unions they disapprove of "dual" and "illegitimate"? If these great men have not such right, who has?

Further, if the Comintern of the Crafts has the right to scab on and hunt down members of such "illegitimate" unions as the I. W. W. and the Railway Yardmen's Association, why have they not the same right to organize scabbery on the Amalgamated Clothing Workers when that union dares to organize clothing workers who belong by divine and vested right to the only "recognized" union in that line of work, which most surely is the United Garment Workers Union, however scabby and criminal its tactics are, always have been, and always will be?

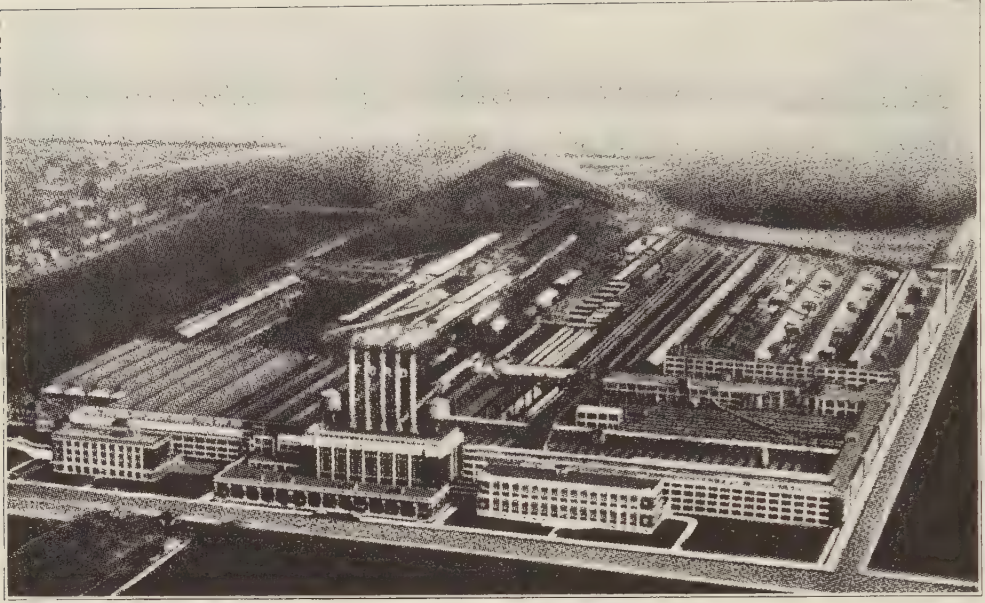
Were the I. W. W. and the Yardmen's Association "dual" unions just because they were powerless to defend themselves against the united might of the capitalists and craftists, while the Amalgamated is not a "dual" union solely because it has conquered power?

It must be so, just as we "impossibilists" have long told the I. W. W. and the unorganized—the great thing is to get power and the intelligence to use it for yourselves. Then you not only will get the goods but the respect of all other men, women and organizations, religious, economic, and political, especially political, for power is the only thing a politician heeds or has any respect for, and at that he is absolutely right.

Once conquer by the sheer might of your own power your right to exist and to "choose your own representatives," regardless of whether or not Presidunce Green, Presidunce Coolidge, or their lords and masters, Morgan, Rockefeller, Gary, Dupont and company, "recognize" or do not "recognize" you, approve or disapprove of your representatives—once conquer power and all other rights are yours. Then you will no longer be "dual," for then you will have proved your right to "legitimacy," and only then—for then only will you have proven yourself and your organization fit to survive.

As long as we are unorganized in an organized world, as long as we submit quietly to living conditions fit only for slaves and not for men, as long as we look outside of ourselves for salvation, just so long will we, the unskilled and semi-skilled, remain unorganized, enslaved, unfit. Therefore, I say to you: **"Organize or perish."**

If we wait until "Organized Labor"—God save the mark!—comes to our aid and organizes us, verily we will wait until hades freezes over; for "Organized Labor" does not wish us organized.



HIGHLAND PARK PLANT OF HENRY FORD COMPANY

Detroit, Mother of 12,000,000 Fords

By SAM MURRAY

LIKE the fertile queen bee that litters the hive with her countless progeny the great city by the northern strait that shares her name has, in a little more than a decade, poured forth over the surface of the earth an endless stream of the little black machines until no matter where you go, in the congested districts of our great industrial centers or the desert wastes of Central Asia, one of the first sounds to greet your ears is the familiar rattle of Henry's tin.

While the industries of Detroit are many and her factories scattered all over the town, with few exceptions they are all closely allied with the business of manufacturing automobiles. Detroit is called the automobile town and since, probably, more than half of the people working there owe their employment directly or indirectly to the Ford industries it can almost be called a Ford town. With a water frontage of about twenty miles it extends back into the country over a stretch of area that was until but a few years ago the abode of farmers and is littered in every part with factories.

However, any description of this city, which has grown in a few years from a town of a few thousand to a great industrial center claiming a million and a quarter inhabitants, without giving most of the space to the Ford industries would be impossible, for just as Ford's is the biggest thing in Detroit so is it the most advanced industrially, not only in Detroit, but in the world.

The Ford Industries

Ford has two plants in Detroit and one in his home town, Dearborn, beside his assembly plants established all over the world, not mentioning the Lincoln factory in Detroit and the subsidiary holdings that he has established in the mining, lumber, agriculture and transportation industries. At present a rumor persists that he is about to take over the Hudson Motor Company also.

His Highland Park plant is still the largest and most important in the amount of work turned out and number of men employed, as the Rouge plant is still partly under construction, the first motor having been completed there in September, 1924. My advice to anyone going to Detroit, particularly if he is interested in industrial development, is to visit these two places. He will have no trouble getting a pass as all one has to do is to call at the plant to be visited and sign a card, and he will be conducted through.

The Highland Park Plant

This is the plant where the greater part of the eight thousand Ford cars that are being turned out daily are assembled and a large amount of the parts still manufactured, but as the Rouge plant seems to be taking over a large part of the manu-

facturing as it is being completed, it is probable that it will be, in the future, used largely as an assembly plant. It cover 278 acres of ground of which 105 are under one roof. About 55,000 persons are employed at present.

I arrived at the plant about ten in the morning and desiring to see how it looked from the outside took a walk down Manchester Avenue. I could look through the bars over the windows and observe the men at work assembling cars. I passed a number of gates and doors as there must be many approaches to a plant employing 55,000 men. At one of the doors there was a line of men passing in single file to receive their pay. I suppose there is always someone getting paid at Ford's. A watchman stood by urging the men to step lively. They pay off at Ford's as they do everything else, in record time.

After passing around the plant I went to the main office on Woodward Avenue where I was presented with a booklet on the Ford industries, some postcards and a little yellow pass. On the little yellow card was a blank space for the visitor's name and address and a request to answer the questions: "Do you own a Ford car, truck, Fordson Tractor?" "Are you satisfied with your car?" etc.; "Are you interested in the purchase of one?" Not owning one I was interested in the purchase of one, so I filled out the card and passed it in.

A bunch of real estate sharks were having a convention in Detroit at the time which may have swollen our crowd somewhat. There were probably over a hundred persons in our line, and as fast as one group was dismissed another was taken through.

We were kept moving a little too fast for a thorough inspection of the works, and one guide to so many could only speak to those closest to him, but it was a very interesting sight to observe the assembling of the cars as they passed over the conveyor, a bar, a bolt or a nut being added until finally the body is dropped in place and a man jumps into the seat, kicks the starter, and away the car goes, fully equipped and ready for the buyer. Just outside of where the assembling is completed there is a room reserved for dealers who often come long distances with their customers, who buy the cars just as they come off the conveyors. They have it down so fine that just forty-one hours after the ore is dumped from the hold of a ship at the Rouge plant, that same ore converted into a Ford motor is in the hands of the ultimate buyer and taking him to his home. However, this amazingly short cycle is being beaten at the Rouge plant where only thirty hours and forty minutes are consumed from the time the ore is discharged until a Fordson Tractor is propelled by it, in the form of a motor, to the shipping yards.

They say the work is nerve wracking and I suppose it is, but doubt that it is any more so than shipyard work. True, it is very steady and for eight hours not a moment is lost in idleness or through a false move but the work generally is

light. I saw nothing to compare with the air-motors used in shipbuilding. The rivet gun with which the large steel rivets are driven into the hulls and which are guaranteed to shake the strongest man to pieces in eight years if he hangs on to it that long. The Thor No. 8 drill motor with its treacherous mule-like kick, the No. 2 that will clean up the place if a careless helper should let it slip through his fingers or the straining work on the punches and shears that fashion the shell plates have nothing to compare with them in Ford's. Yet they say you earn your money, and I should say you do.

The Rouge River Plant

A visit to this plant is more instructive and interesting than the Highland Park, as it is here that the more scientific and highly skilled part of the work is performed and besides most of the Ford worshippers seem to have exhausted their devotional enthusiasm with their pilgrimage to Highland Park and consequently you meet with a much smaller crowd and less hurry. This plant covers 1100 acres of ground and has a water frontage on the Rouge River of a mile and a quarter.

Although I struck the place at 1 p. m., there were only six of us. A parasite with two women in tow, a Kentuckey farmer and his wife, and myself. The "white collar stiff" who acted as our guide took up at once with the parasite which, by the way was a fortunate circumstance as about all he had in his head was a lot of Ford statistics, however they got there.

Leaving the head office it took us just an hour and a half to go through. For the sake of company I cultivated the acquaintance of the farmer and his wife and got some amusement out of him as well. He was a thorough partisan of Ford, and I saw that he was inclined to resent anything in the way of criticism on my part; I handled him a little diplomatically. He volunteered the opinion, or I might better say the proclamation, that Ford and Edison were the two greatest men who ever lived, and I didn't dispute him. Not being an authority on great men, for all I know they may be. However, before we got through his devotion got a few jolts.

Passing down the line we ran across several colored workers mixed in with the whites. "I didn't think you would have any of these fellows here," he remarked to the guide. "Yes, we have lots of them," the guide replied coolly. After that we saw lots of them.

After we had witnessed the assembling of the tractors he dropped out of line and struck up a conversation with one of the workmen. The guide signaled for him to come on, but he seemed to pay no attention to him. His wife after calling and signaling to him suggested to me that he was holding up the parade. "Oh, let him have a little visit," I said. Finally the guide went over to him and told him that he was not allowed to talk to

the men. "If you want to know anything, ask me," he said. But the farmer insisted that he was in the habit of talking to anyone he pleased to, but eventually he broke away and followed us up. "I would like to see anyone stop me from talking to anyone," he remarked to his wife and me as we went on. Afterwards, as we were passing through the machine shops, he turned to me and said, "I don't think I would like to work here; too much like the penitentiary."

First we visited the coke ovens—120 of them. You look in vain for the typical gashouse stiff with his shovel and sweatrag. No one is in sight with the possible exception of a sweeper in clean overalls. There may be some attendants hid away somewhere, but for all I know they attend themselves. These ovens take care of the output of several of Ford's coal mines, converting the coal into coke and by-products.

Next we visited the 500-ton blast furnaces and noted the few attendants. Everything here seems to be automatic. You are not taken through the foundry, said to be the largest in the world and where in the pouring of the metal the conveyor system is used, the molds being in motion and the attendants filling them with metal as they pass them.

In the tractor factory we enter a section where the men are at work on unassembled parts and follow and witness the process of assembling them until you come to a place where a number of men in painters' overalls each with a paint brush are painting the parts assigned to them as the finished tractor passes them on the conveyor. Finally it is cranked and a man runs it out in the yard where shipment is made to the agencies in all parts of the world. Unlike the Ford cars, Fordson tractors are all assembled right in the Detroit factory. Owing to their compact bulk this is cheaper than establishing assembly plants at distant distributing points.

Next comes the glass factory, and here we witness another triumph of the Ford industries. Plate glass is molded in an endless strip. You see Ford windshields poured into the furnace in the form of sand and other ingredients entering the process. Several men are on hand with hoes to level off the "batch" as the hoppers shoot it into the furnaces. It is melted and passed between the rolls where it is rolled, cooled, cut and polished without the attention of anyone except several men whose duty is to groom the monster machine, for in Ford's everything is kept clean and freshly-painted. Even the switch engines around the yards are kept shining like a new boot. Finally you come to hundreds of cutters who take the plates as they come from the machine and with a glass cutter and T-square cut the glass to fit the windshields in less time than an expert draftsman would take to draw the lines. Why the machine does not cut them the right size in the first place I do not know. Perhaps that is a problem the solving of which belongs to

a future stage in the evolution of the Ford industries.

Next on our way out we passed through the machine shops where the motors are prepared for the cars that are assembled at the Highland Park plant. We see automatic bolt machines feeding themselves with the metal that goes into the bolts and tapscrews and threading them with the stroke of a rapidly moving piston from which conveyors take them to their ultimate destination, just enough arriving to supply the workmen who slip them into the engine part as it passes.

We pass by the shapers, lathes and other machines which shape everything so that there may not be the slightest variation in the size of the parts that may be wanted to fit a Ford machine in any part of the world. As we pass out we meet hordes of men with lunch boxes, for it is two-thirty and the sections are beginning to change shifts. The first of the night shift is coming on. Forty thousand men are a whole lot, but the Ford outfit is exact in all things and they have so nicely arranged the changing of shifts that there is no confusion or congestion or traffic, and when I board a Ford West car just as it is about to pull out I find that there are just enough workmen to fill the seats and I am left hanging to a strap.

A bright looking fellow with a slight foreign accent suggests that if they crowd up a little there will be room for me. I said, "Don't crowd yourselves; you fellows are working, I am loafing and can just as well stand. But I suppose after spending eight hours in there you are glad to get a seat." "You bet," he said; "After eight hours of it you are damn glad for a seat."

"When do you fellows come to work?"

"Six-twenty."

"And work until?"

"Two-forty; twenty minutes for lunch."

He seemed willing to answer questions, but tired, so I let him alone, and in a few minutes he was dozing off and I noticed that all conversation had ceased, and when I looked around the car I noticed that half the occupants were asleep. I thought of the words of the Kentucky farmer. "I don't think I would like to work here—too much like a penitentiary."

Ford as an Employer

We hear a great deal of discussion as to the character of Henry Ford as an employer, but as is usually the case in trying to secure information on a debatable question much that is handed out is of too extravagant a nature to be useful. To some Ford is a great philanthropist who has practically established the millennium in his shops for the benefit of his employees, while others seem to regard him as a greedy misanthrope who is willing, for the sake of the advertising benefit, to pay a little better than the going wage, but who by an advanced system of exploitation has succeeded in driving his men to the limit and reduced them to

the lowest degree of industrial slavery. As in most cases the investigator will generally find the truth to be somewhere between the two extremes.

There is no doubt that Henry Ford treats his men better on the whole than does the average employer in the country at large. It is also true that he succeeds in extracting a greater degree of surplus value from them, but in my opinion it is idle to speculate on the motive. Ford is not the only person to discover that the well-paid worker like the well-fed horse is the more profitable in the end and the question as to whether that is the primary motive may not trouble us now. It is an economic principle that is becoming universally recognized.

However, when we study Ford's system we find it to be strictly paternal and despotic and in no way recognizing the principle of industrial democracy. As he reported to the Russell Sage Foundation, last winter: "Technical questions are decided by facts and not by votes," and therefore he refuses representation by employees in the management of his industries. Again, in his pamphlet on the Ford industries he states that inasmuch as he gives his employees the best of wages and conditions that there is nothing left to bargain about and no necessity for union or shop committees among the Ford employees. You see that while he may be on the whole a fairly liberal and humane employer he makes himself the complete judge and absolute dictator as to what is good for his men and what they should desire accepting no advice from them whatever. It is easy to see how a system of that kind will eventually evolve into a sort of feudalism where a few industrial overlords will rule with absolute power over a race of morons whose only ambition is enough to eat and steady work.

One hears more in praise of Ford the farther he goes from Detroit. I find that men who have worked for him do not consider his jobs as being much above the average. They usually say that Ford's is all right on some of the jobs and I notice that men who have left him and are working for less money don't seem anxious to get back. In fact, what the Ford plants need is industrial unionism.

Chances of Employment

Most people seem to think that it is a very difficult matter to get a job at Ford's. Now while the labor turnover is probably below the average, with the constant growth of the industry there is about as good a chance for employment as in the average factory. The wage for the first sixty days is five dollars and after that the minimum is six. Ford claims that sixty per cent of the employees are getting above the six dollar minimum. All work is eight hours. I understand that there is little distinction but notice an almost total absence of gray hairs among the employees.

On the whole, Detroit is quite a busy town and anyone with a good front and a sufficient stake

to enable him to do a reasonable amount of rustling ought to be able to land a job, if not at Ford's at some of the many factories of the town. The pay of course is not very good, particularly in the case of the unskilled. The pay outside of Ford's ranges all the way from 45 to 85 cents per hour with an average of about nine hours per day. Living expenses are a little above the average prevailing elsewhere. Owing to the fact that machine production is a little more advanced than in most places there are few of the old line mechanics employed and positions requiring more or less skill are filled by promotion the chances of unskilled men working up to a better position are better than in most places.

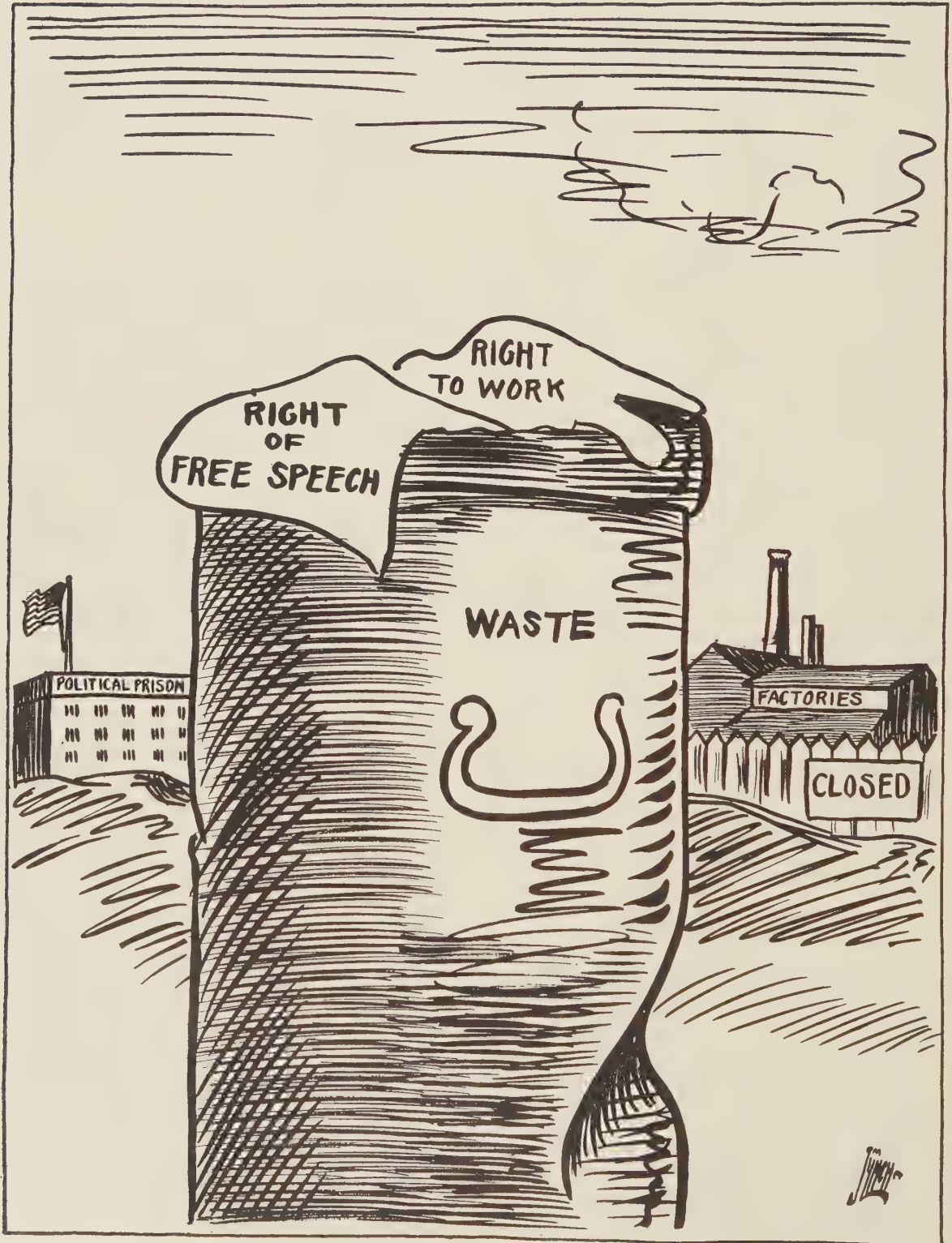
Detroit as a Town

Anyone who is interested in the growth of the I. W. W. will find Detroit a good field to work in and a good live and intelligent crowd of fellow workers to start with. As usual, the Finns are taking the lead. They have a hall and own their own park on Lake St. Clair where the picnics are held. There is no doubt that the right kind of work here will bear fruit. However, one must be patient enough to stick. Homeguard industries are not organized in a day, but success is a matter of years of effort. Nor can one expect to accomplish anything by job agitation as long as he is unskilled and unacquainted. Such a person must be contented to support the branch off the job and leave job agitation to those who know the jobs until he is acquainted. The impatient type of agitator sometimes found in the West would be entirely out of place here.

There are numerous fine boat trips and outing places. The boosters claim the most beautiful park in the world—Belle Isle. It is an island of considerable natural beauty, but as a city park I do not think it up to much. I saw nothing to compare in beauty or attractiveness to the Golden Gate Park of Frisco.

In some respects Detroit reminds one of Los Angeles. It certainly has more boosters and real estate sharks than any city out of California. Of course there is some substance to Detroit's boom while in the case of Los Angeles there is nothing but wind. However, you note the same lack of solidarity in the workers and much the same unity of purpose in the rest. They call it a city without slums but what they call the places where men must live who work for less than four dollars a day with famine prices for necessities I do not know. There is probably more employment than in the average city and since a person will accept most any kind of employment in preference to crime there is no doubt little crime but for abject slavery, Detroit sure has her share. There is lots of room to improve labor conditions and if proper tactics are followed success is sure to crown the efforts.

American Prosperity



Book Review

THAT "every revolution in ideas is a consequence of a revolution in the social structure that the prevailing material conditions have produced" is the fundament from which V. F. Calverton in "The Newer Spirit" raises a structure that is sure to attract hostility from critics not yet aligned as disciples of this newer spirit. Literary criticism, in the definition of a host of critics, is a fine art, but the editor of *The Modern Quarterly* will have nothing of the sort and tears into the opposition with brilliant, and what appeared to me as conclusive, thrusts. He says that literature must be reckoned from a sociological approach which is scientific, that literary criticism, therefore, is scientific, and that describing literary values with any other method is fatuous. To know literature, he contends, one must understand the conditions surrounding its production, and to grasp the significance of this environment one is obliged to recognize that Marxian conception which declared that humankind's history since the passing of primitive tribal society has been one of class struggles. Thus we discover at the outset that while the author's knowledge of literature covers a wide range, he is a Marxian student of no mean caliber.

"Creative and critical composition . . . have altered both in style and substance with each of the vicissitudes of social evolution." Calverton shows that the Elizabethans reflected in literature the social tenets of the feudal order, and that however lustily and courageously they may have shouted, these literary artists depended for their very existence on ruling class patronage. "As long as the nobility remained the ruling class, the administering and not the administered, it would be a sociological solecism to expect ideas to be other than reflections of the aristocratic, courtly attitude." These writers were not slow to acknowledge their status. In obsequious tenor they prayed for the solicitude of their patrons. Among that distinguished group whose work has shed so much glory on their period in which we behold a preponderance of literary genius reminiscent of the effulgence of the Florentines at the time of the Da Vinci, there are no exceptions to this obeisance, an attitude compelled by economic circumstance.

Employing the producing classes as objects of utmost contempt, and presenting the merchant class in a light anything but complimentary, these writers were of unanimous opinion that ordinary persons were not the material out of which great drama could be made. A more golden fabric must lend itself to the making, Shakespeare and his contemporaries thought and exemplified in their entire labors.

The lives of kings, nobles, aristocrats, furnish a worthy stuff for the texture of tragedy, and this habit has been the orthodox historian's not less than the dramatists's and the novelist's.

This literary ascendancy of the feudal period, expressed in such works as *Morte d'Arthur*, *King Lear* and *Edward II*, was finally challenged by a bourgeoisie rising and fighting for its own expression. As these gained power, as their productive mode won in the struggle, ideas changed and literature reflected the change by a manifestation contributing to the praise of bourgeois virtues. Then we see their goodness magnified in such works as *The London Merchant*, *The Gamester* and *Sarah Simpson*, to name but three of early outstanding importance. It is no longer the deeds of the aristocrat that must be treated, the aristocrat has lost the battle because a new form of producing goods has superseded the old, and those exponents of the change have their virtues to be recognized and published.

Calverton projects his thoughts on the perception in a remarkably clear manner, never being content to make statements without evincing a readiness to support them with illustrations in the concrete. When he passes from a consideration of the bourgeois literature to proletarian he seems to lose his fine sense of proportion, however, taking the works of Sherwood Anderson as pioneers in the field, when it can be effectively proven that Anderson's characters, though not persons of great influence and wealth, are certainly not proletarians. The three books which express the new proletarian spirit in Calverton's mention are *Germinie Lacerteux*, *The Weavers* and *Winesburg, Ohio*. The latter has gripped his imagination powerfully and he treats of its tales minutely, but the heroes and heroines of this book are seldom of the propertyless estate. They are doctors, lawyers, school teachers, clergymen. This should not be taken as any disparagement of *Winesburg*. It is an unusually commanding work behind which the author's motive is everywhere apparent. Anderson concerns himself with what his characters are thinking more than with what they are saying. From the point of psychological importance this method is not to be minimized, constituting a gift to sociology which will yet be found of the most far-reaching value. But the characters are not proletarians. Better to have taken Zola than Anderson as the stavar of this class, for in *Germinal*, to say nothing of other works, he has done more to express the proletarian than all that Anderson ever achieved. For that matter, both Anderson and Zola can be left out of the picture and there will still remain sturdy

forms of those who have chosen as their central characters persons of little or no social prominence.

The Andersonian style is masterly, and his substance is of great interest, but it does not mark him a pioneer in the field of treating producers as Elizabethan writers treated kings and aristocrats, and as the bourgeois scribes have capitalists and their importance. No country is without its writers who have quit regarding the bourgeois as worthy of further treatment in letters from a central position. That we are sure to make our voice heard in literature is just as certain as that we are to have our economic effect as a result of constantly attacking capitalism, but just as the bourgeoisie did not conquer for their own purposes the realm of letters until they had overpowered their economic adversaries and forever triumphed over the feudal power, so too it is our destiny to be without a proletarian literature in any sense even approximating fullness until we have conquered industrial opposition thoroughly.

"The Newer Spirit" is a group of essays. There is a part given to the subject of changes in esthetic values which it is difficult to sum up in a short space without danger of misinterpretation, but its message seems to be crystallized in these words of the author:

"At one time, not many centuries ago, we could have been and were stimulated and attracted by the war of the heavenly host, a theme that today not only rests purely in recollection, but is quite void of appeal. The time will come likewise, with successive changes in society, when the struggles of emperors and lords, the consequences of the strifes and aspirations of royalty, will be as remote and un-fascinating as the conflicts of the angelic hierarchy, and with the coming of this period the vane of Shakespeare's dramas, like all others expressing the attitude of feudalism, will suffer distinct diminution in value."

In another essay proletarian art is discussed. Says Calverton: "The clash of class-psychologies has precipitated a revolution in art values and criteria. In literature, for instance, the working man, as distinguished from the noble, the merchant, and the magister, has become a figure essential to its evolution; tragedies formerly spun about the episodic futilities of royalties, the failures of gamblers and business men, now include the disasters of the proletariat. The proletarian is visualized as no less a hero than the knight or financier. The ethics of the bourgeois, by the very process of social antithesis, so adequately illustrated by Hegel and Plechanoff, are repudiated by the evolving proletariat."

The great man of illusion is attacked by means of an argument on environment, which, earlier in the work, the author mentions in this way: "If the theory of evolution be correct, heredity is but a product of environment and must inevitably change with alteration in environment. A son of a Hindu prince brought to America shortly after birth and forced to live in this country in an environment similar to

that of other American bourgeois the rest of his life, will develop a series of mental reactions similar to those of the surrounding individuals, not those of his ancestors."

When radicals speak of this great man illusion they usually mean the theory that great men are responsible for the progress of society, and are not the results of certain social conditions. Calverton does not go into this matter. He mentions that J. S. Mill learned Greek at the age of three, Jeremy Bentham Latin at four, and Mozart the clavier at five—all as a result of environment which made it possible for them to receive education. Again he speaks of Robert Burns, saying that his father saw to it that his children were given an education and that without this Burns could not have been the poet he was. Life conditions acting on the individual are no less responsible for genius than they are for imbecility or mediocrity, and the important point, says Calverton, is that the forces creating these conditions are all discoverable; the peculiar causes which make for genius. Knowing these causes he contends that genius is possible to reproduce consciously by setting in motion the forces favorable to it. I regret that he did not devote some attention to the preaching that is so commonly held and propagated which holds that the individual makes the environment, and that prominent historical figures in some almost miraculous way pull society forward, or upward to higher levels from the lower depths. Some space should have been given to point out that forces of the mass movement fling up to the surface and to commanding places these characters.

Throughout the book the reader is impressed with its facile style, withal careful to present views which are not popular and whose message may well be misconstrued by antagonism. The large number of people who have taken H. L. Mencken as a bright star in the literary firmament should pay particular attention to what Calverton has to say of this man he describes as a vaudeville critic, and whose superficiality and inconsistencies are given a few needed jolts.

There is a great work to be done in literary criticism, and that the sociological method employed and advocated by Mr. Calverton is the only one that leads to understanding is the opinion that is confirmed if not inspired by reading the book. Here is a voice that speaks right out and will have no reverence for opinions just because repeated encomiums have served to make of certain works sacred objects. Calverton tears aside these veils and rips with no uncertain strokes at the pedestal. He dares to make his own appraisal unimpressed by what the notable so-and-so or the scholarly whatshisname have said. This is a voice that was needed, and it is one that will be heard, and that will make its way by sheer force of logic.

—FRANK HAGAN.

THE NEWER SPIRIT, by V. F. Calverton. Published by Boni and Liveright, New York. Price, \$2.50.



Free Speech

By JAMES LYNCH



THIS IS THE JOHN SPARGO
PHIZ — JOHN RETREATED
FROM RADICALISM
WHEN WAR CAME



THE New York World of Sunday, August 16, devoted about two columns to an interview with John Spargo in which he pointed out the "Free Speech Error." Mr. Spargo believes in free speech but thinks that "free speech untempered by common sense may at times be treasonous." In other words, there are times when it is constitutional to be unconstitutional. His attempt to take the free out of freedom of speech by substituting "common sense" for that part of the Constitution guaranteeing free speech is amusing. The following are his own words:

"Reading the Constitution of the United States is an admirable exercise and should be practiced often by some of our officials, but there are times when reading the Constitution may be closely allied to treason.

"A good citizen doesn't read the Constitution during times of emergency. He doesn't even read the Ten Commandments. The Ten Commandments are the basis of our social and moral life, and yet to read them at certain critical moments when men are ready for a spark to set them aflame would be a serious moral offense.

"We all believe in free speech. I am a liberal and I know I do. Even our old friend Judge Gary, who is an avowed conservative, will not feel hurt if we say that he does. We all three believe in free speech. And we all three believe in common sense. But free speech untempered by common sense may at times be treasonous.

"Let me give an illustration. Take the town of

Herrin, Ill., where there have been riots and disastrous outbreaks and where it is the duty of the authorities to guard against further outbreaks. You will grant, I believe, that it is the duty of the authorities to protect property and prevent loss of life. That, in my opinion, is the paramount duty of any democracy, and the further you get into the workings of democracy, the more important becomes the humanitarian function of the state.

"Therefore, in order to protect property and life in Herrin, the authorities must establish certain restrictions against holding public meetings and against being on the streets after a certain time, and so on. Now I may consider it my constitutional right to attend the theater. Or I may consider it my constitutional right to go to church. But for the sake of law and order I must for the time being waive those constitutional rights.

"Or again I may be a person like Roger Baldwin, who comes down from the Civil Liberties Bureau and insists on standing upon his constitutional rights by reading the Constitution in the public square at Paterson, N. J. Now it was not the reading of the Constitution that caused Mr. Baldwin to be arrested, but the fact that he chose a particularly dangerous time during strike riots to read it, and the fact that large crowds can easily be touched off in times of trouble. To read the Constitution is to draw a crowd, and to draw a crowd is to invite disaster.

"I can't go to the police chief and tell him he is wrong and I am right, and that I have a perfect

right to read the Constitution in the public square. Because the police chief is responsible for property and life, while I am not.

"This self-appointed triumvirate—you, Judge Gary, and I—probably also would agree that freedom of religious worship was a constitutional right. Every man is entitled to it, both white and black. Yet I can conceive of a time, such as during a Ku Klux Klan riot, when common sense would dictate the closing of a Negro church."

Thus speaks Mr. Spargo. Let us now turn to the Constitution itself for a little information on this point. Article I of Amendments to the Constitution of the United States says: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances." Here we see that it is not only "the duty of the authorities to protect property and prevent the loss of life,"

but also to protect the right of individuals to express their opinions whether right or wrong. The police chief is not only responsible for property and life but also for the protection of persons who wish to read the Constitution in the public square. In times of Ku Klux Klan riots, the Constitution and common sense would dictate the protection of a Negro church and not the closing of it.

To read the Constitution is to draw a crowd, but to prevent the reading of it or to break up a peaceable assembly is to draw a larger crowd and to invite unconstitutional actions. If men are denied the right to express their opinions and to better their conditions by constitutional methods, how can we expect to prevent the use of violence?

If free speech is prevented during times of trouble, how can we find the cause of the trouble?

Protecting the right of free speech is the best method of protecting life and property, and destroying the causes which produce poor conditions, misery and bad times.

I Met

By HENRY GEORGE WEISS

I MET upon the road of life
 A brilliant man one day,
 Whose wit was keen, whose facile
 tongue
 With magic words did play,
 Whose intellect was masterly,
 Who, at his fingertips,
 Had all the lore of history
 And all the poets' quips.
 I marvelled that the mind of man—
 One mind—could e'er contain
 The knowledge and the wisdom
 Which he spoke and made so plain.
 I met upon the road of life
 A prodigy in fact,
 A mental giant, a genius,
 And yet one thing he lacked,
 The little quirk to understand,
 The inner sight to see
 The heights to which the race could soar
 If workingmen were free.

I met upon the road of life
 A brilliant man one day
 Who knew his books, could talk of things
 In a most charming way,
 But who for all his wealth of thought
 Was blind to things sublime,
 And could not soar on magic wings
 To pierce the veil of time;
 Who could not see,—O God knows why—
 But still who could not see
 The awful juggernaut that crushed
 Men into infamy;
 Who could not see that from a sty
 The hogs of lust must come;
 Who could not see that ignorance
 Is what makes men's souls dumb;
 Who judged success by Golden Calves
 While seeking to hold him;
 Who tramped the roads and preached a
 creed
 That churches seek to dim. . . .

I met a very brilliant man
 Whose inner eye was dim,
 And though he had a master-mind,
 By God, I pitied him!

Unwritten Books Reviewed

By ROBERT WHITAKER

Our New Book Department is unlike that of any other periodical in the world. As THE INDUSTRIAL PIONEER is emphatically a "forward-looking" magazine this original book department will deal with books which have not yet been written, but which obviously ought to be written, and will be written as the new social order gets more and more control of world affairs. We can say with confidence that the author of this department is peculiarly well qualified to anticipate the publications of tomorrow, not only as to their titles, and the publishing house which will have the courage and enterprise to put them forth, but also as to the lines of survey and argument which the most worth while publications of tomorrow will follow. Any of our readers who wish to contribute information and suggestions concerning books which they have discovered in the offing are invited to send them to this office, or write direct to Mr. Whitaker, at 506 Tajo Building, Los Angeles, California.

The Failure of American Rationalism

By A FREE-THINKER

Published by THE REALIST PRESS, Is-land, Ind.

WHO the author of this book may be we do not know, but we do know that he is the first "free-thinker" we have read who seems to us to have taken the word seriously. Generally speaking "free-thinkers" are about as free in fact as the most hide-bound fundamentalists. They react to the names of Voltaire, or Paine, or Ingersoll as emotionally, and extravagantly as do the religious folk to the names of Luther or Calvin or Wesley or Moody, or whoever their particular demigod may be. They have their own shibboleths and creeds to which they are as strenuously attached as any church in Christendom. And usually they are as far away from a truly scientific realism, especially a realism based upon the analysis of actual workaday conditions, as are any of the ideologists of any section of the metaphysical field. They are filled with the superstition of **individualism and the idea**, and quite ignorant of the part which the common man has played and does play in the shaping of human affairs, and how the relation of all of us to land, and tools, and capital has operated to produce not only slave conditions for the masses of mankind but a slave psychology which has resulted of course in all kinds of superstitions and beliefs whereby the minds of men and women could be controlled and diverted from the business of making themselves free.

Here is a writer, who however much of a "free-thinker" he may be in the matter of rejecting the ordinary orthodox religious dogmas, shows himself a good deal more than a mere dogmatist of a negative sort. He sees clearly enough that so far as the

wage slave is concerned wrangling for "infidel" doctrines is as futile as wrangling for any other theological stuff. If the boss can keep a man contented while the capitalist absorbs the major part of the product of his labor by letting the chap argue noisily that there isn't any god why should the boss worry? Or what is the difference between affirming the Virgin Birth or denying it, if the workers can be diverted and divided by verbal fighting over it? Doubtless orthodoxy is on the whole a little safer, especially as there are so many brands of it that the workers can always be lined up in contending camps of ecclesiastical confinement when they ought to be out in the open with each other knocking the fetters off of each other's wrists instead of welding them on to each other's minds. But heterodoxy will do quite as well as orthodoxy so long as it isn't a heterodoxy that gets the worker to see what is his own interest in the ownership and control of his own tools and in economic solidarity with all his fellow workers, whatever their theological notions may be.

This the writer sees, and says it with refreshing frankness, and shows up his fellow rationalists to be as pitiful "fundamentalists" themselves as any who ever came up the pike from Tennessee. But he goes a good deal further in his frank and fearless exhibit of the utter failure which has fallen upon the rationalist program in America. He recites at some length the favorable conditions from the viewpoint of free thought presented by pioneer America. He writes with enthusiasm, yet with intelligent restraint, of the leaders and teachers of American ra-

tionalism, especially of the distinguished services of Thomas Paine to the cause of American liberty, and his extraordinary ability as a pamphleteer, his fascinating personality, his exceptional gifts as an orator, and the moral soundness of his indignation at the blood-thirstiness of "the people of God" in Old Testament times, if their wholesale slaughterings were to be taken as done under the immediate direction of the Almighty. Generous mention is made of other leaders of American free thought who are less known to the public than their abilities and services would seem to deserve.

And then the author brings home his charge that in view of this exceptional opportunity which America presented, and the large hearing that Paine and Ingersoll and their confreres have had, the results for rationalism are pitifully small and the present strength of the most conservative types of American religious creedalism are an amazing exhibit of the ineffectiveness of the rationalist attack. The writer details at length the rival forces with which the churches have had to deal in our time, the secularization of education and medicine and other activities which the church of yesterday controlled, the coming of the automobile, the movie, the radio, and the development of out-door life, and shows that in spite of all these counter attractions the churches maintain a remarkable hold upon public interest and support. His treatment at this point might be full-

er, and more scientific, but it is sufficient as it is to explain much of the alleged loss of ground by the churches, and to prove how powerful and vital the churches yet are, in spite of this natural, untheological opposition. And it helps to bring home the main indictment of the book, which is to the effect that rationalism as such has utterly failed here in America to check the progress of religious conservatism, has rather contributed to it. To recall the fable of the sun and the wind, the rough blasts of a defiant and contemptuous rationalism have not persuaded the ordinary American to take off his coat of orthodox religion, but have led him to reach for a thicker coat and hug it closer to him.

The book closes with an eloquent appeal, in which the writer himself seems to have no great confidence, but by means of which he seeks to persuade his free-thought comrades to take honest account of the short-comings of their own program up to this time, and to revise it in the interests of a more intelligent, more generous, and more promising program of defeating orthodoxy by trying first of all to understand it, and then to make use of the values which are in it. American rationalism will have to be a good deal bigger thing than it is before it will get anywhere in dealing with American religionism.

But, as someone has cynically said, "You can tell a failure when you meet him, but you can't tell him very much." Can American rationalism learn anything by its present miserable plight?

The Weary Wobbly, and Other Essays

By PETER STEADFAST.

(The People's Press, New York, N. Y.)

THE initial essay in this little volume is a cure both for the over-buoyant optimism which affects many of those who engage in the fight for labor, and the pessimistic paralysis which too often follows upon it and leaves the social enthusiast of today a derelict of cynical despair tomorrow.

The writer is a minister evidently, or has been such, and uses the phraseology of religion, but with a quickening, human touch. He begins with this incident, which is characteristic of the style of the whole book.

"'Inside of three years your church will be crowded to the doors,' my friend assured me the other night. He isn't a churchgoing man himself, and has in fact no use for the doctrines or ritual or the emotional responses of religion. But our church is 'different,' enough so that even he, agnostic as he is, attends with enthusiasm now and then because this pulpit is so outspoken for labor. After making the prophecy which I have quoted above he offered to treat me to chicken dinner if the prophecy didn't come true. And this is the way he reasoned out his confidence. 'There is a smash just ahead of us. Millions will be unemployed. Credit will be gone, property will be at a standstill, actual starvation

will be here. The revolution will be forced upon the people. And then they will be willing to listen to the radical, and we shall have our innings, everywhere.'"

The writer goes on: "I said this happened 'the other night,' but on checking up I find it was **four years ago**. The church isn't crowded yet, though many and various have been the liberal programs put over to get a hearing, and the chicken dinner is over-due. Also the 'smash just ahead' is still deferred, and 'millions of unemployed', and all the rest of the natural and 'inevitable' antecedents of a social revolution. And my friend has gone into his shell and has ceased either to work or talk very much for the new order. It is not for his day, he thinks now."

Many other incidents the author of these essays gives, illustrating the passing of yesterday's enthusiasms, and the decline of interest in social revolt on the part of some of the most active workers of other years. He deals at length, and sympathetically, with the story of the I. W. W. and the "weary Wobbly," whom he has met in many and various places, resting on his oars or grown cynical about the whole effort on behalf of the workingman.

"What's the use of going to jail for fellers who haven't sense enough to turn a hand for themselves?" asks one man who has put in years behind the jail bars as a class war prisoner. "Never again," many another "soldier of the common good" has said, as he contemplated the "vain Calvary" he has climbed for the saving of a people who do not want to be saved.

"Then wherefore the fuss and the flurry,
And wherefore the thorns and the cross?
Were it not as well to be merry,
And leave the world to its loss?
What profit have all the martyrs
Of all their belated fame?
For their very praise in the later days
But hideth the later shame."

That is, as the writer says, "the heroes of today are the hitching posts of tomorrow. When a man does stand out because of his sacrifices for the cause and wins a following, that very following uses his name to stabilize and conservatize themselves. If a radical success means crowds and appreciation and understanding, it isn't coming for years, and when it does come it is as likely as not to be capitalized in the interests of some later conservatism."

That is putting it plainly enough, and facing the worst frankly. But when it is all said, the writer makes it quite as plain that the battle is worth while to any man who has the real spirit of the fighter in him. "No man," said "Fellow Worker Jesus," "sets about building a house without first counting the cost." Which means, translated into terms of our time, that no man has any business to set about being a radical unless he is willing to pay the price. And the price isn't "pills" now, and "candy" tomorrow. It isn't "take you medicine, and Santa Claus will bring you a rocking horse when Christmas comes." That may do for children, but it isn't for grown men and women. Grown men and women must learn to do the thing that is worth while for the doing's sake, and to get their satisfaction even in the midst of the suffering which any real living involves. Also they must learn that no one is ready to play much of a part in building over the world and shaping it "nearer to the heart's desire" who cannot work with the enthusiasm of him who looks for the great chance just around the corner, and with the unwearied persistence of him who can wait for the new order if need be a thousand years. "The Weary Wobbly" is good stuff for any man to think upon who has gotten a little slack in his tension. "For in due season we shall reap if we faint not."

The Essence of Industrialism

By WARREN LAMSON

(Continued From September Issue)

MANY volumes of research into primitive and ancient societies together with others which treat sex from a biological standpoint affirm the view of the industrialists that there is nothing inherent in either sex to justify a position of superiority in the future society. The mere existence of such inequality today is not sufficient to justify its need or existence in the future. Those who would change this condition of sexual inequity must look to fundamental social changes, not merely to legislate enactments, for so far these have only followed alterations in the social structure. The industrialists, however, are not primarily concerned with the emancipation of woman, but with the emancipation of labor, but this necessarily develops a relationship to the status of woman.

THE INDUSTRIALISTS AND WOMAN

Whether woman once occupied a position of superiority matters but little, the facts are today that woman does occupy a position of inferiority and generally speaking she is man's inferior in talent.

This is socially bad. An undeveloped class from an economic standpoint, is a social drag. But if as is well known woman has occupied a socially inferior position during the centuries in which man has so wonderfully advanced, then it is but natural that she should today be his inferior in talent for as previously shown (Industrialists and Education

and the opening premise) the inferiority in ability or talent for any considerable number, sexually as well as by class divisions, is merely the result of inequality of opportunity.

Women in large numbers have been forced or lured into the industrial life of the world, yet as a citizen with a pretty little ballot, when a worker, she finds herself as fully ignored as the male worker.

The women of the working and agrarian classes, having no knowledge of preventive methods, are almost continuously pregnant, or with babes at breast, while those who wish a large supply of cheap, ignorant and unorganized labor, sufficiently

abased and beggarly to be utilized as pawns in the purely commercial wars of modern international capital, continuously sing the praises of motherhood, of which every beast is capable. The newspapers' and moving pictures' main source of sobstuff is this worship of a purely animal function. Intelligent motherhood requires something more than a continuous string of births. It requires of woman to be something more than a perennially pregnant animal. Yet those who attempt to introduce some education on the subject of birth control, constantly meet with opposition. This is most certainly one of the causes of the average woman's intellectual standards being inferior to those of men, while it fills the world with a numerous progeny to which the family purse can seldom do justice, robbing the mother of social intercourse, her time too completely taken up with the cares of the children and stretching an insufficient sum for maintenance. Despite the praise given to the home and the usual eulogy of large families both are in many senses woman's enemy.

Excluded for ages from those pursuits which enlarge mental horizons, woman today appears a mental dwarf devoid of intellectual energy or aspiration. "The small amount she has been allowed to use her mind has almost caused it to be atrophied," says L. F. Ward. The above quotation was penned about twenty years ago. Changing industrial conditions have forced women in ever increasing numbers into factories, mills, clothing shops and office work, while not a few have entered the commercial and literary world, meeting with average success. These women workers have organized, fought bitter battles, and in many instances bettered their working conditions with the same weapons used by the male worker. However, the so-called androcentric view held both by so many men and women still retards the development of the latter.

The social organization proposed by the industrialists, since it would provide equality in every detail, would eliminate all these social evils, making productive workers of the host of women now merely parasitical dependents on men, eating, wearing and expending without enriching the world one iota. This dependent position of the female is not true of the animal kingdom nor of primitive societies. The replacing of nonproducing women as producers, in their present inferior state would double the producing agents. They with the male parasites transferred to useful labor would in reality quadruple the producing agents of modern society.

But with a basis of equality for the race, male and female alike, with the mind, not only the male mind, scientifically educated there would be few if any lines of endeavor in which woman would not soon equal man, and both in the arts and industry they would probably open up new fields as yet untouched by man. While the attaining of social and economic equality would bring about an intellectual communion by which both may travel

to the highlands of human growth, the new, free, joyous described by Wells and others.

The Industrialists and the Arts

Today we live in a world where art is under the censorship of the most stupid, puritanical group that has ever befallen it. It is John Cowper Powys, who says: "No one could suppose for a moment that such a thing as the puritanical censorship of art and letters which now hangs, like a leaden weight, round the neck of every writer of original power, would be thrust upon us by the victims of the sweatshops and factories."

This is very like the position of the Industrialists, for they conceive of the revolution as a freeing of all social forces, which are in no way destructive. Our faith in this process is such that we conceive of a new mankind, surpassing the imagination. While we do not recognize culture alone as progressive, we do see in it one of the greatest elements of happiness. I believe that it was Upton Sinclair who said in substance that there is sufficient energy expended in painting, designing and writing for advertising purposes to produce a school of art and literature which would dazzle the world. L. F. Ward declares: "The love of the beautiful both in sight and sound, has ever been and ever must be a reliable social force, ready to manifest its power on every occasion, whenever the great vital demands of existence cease to absorb the energies of society."

Today the artist must create, knowing that only a small part of the people will enjoy his work, and I believe that the true artist appreciates a public, and that the satisfaction of imparting pleasure to it is fully as powerful an incentive as income, for those who bear a real relation to products, whether they be workers of art or not, hate futile effort. The workers certainly would not favor a censorship like the present one, where women's clubs, often through perverted male employees, snoop around for something for the club to disapprove, and then through various means suppress something sufficiently artistic or out of the ordinary to attract their attention and soothe their pious, parasitical souls with the foolish idea that they are socially useful.

The idea of being a vigilant guardian angel to other's welfare develops an excessive opinion of importance, which, with a poisonous odor of sanctity that surrounds such persons causes any useful creating agent to detest them. Every artist who prostitutes his talent to secure their approval commits intellectual suicide.

The sense of beauty is a characteristic of civilized man alone, and the extent that those who beautify our lives are free from interference may well be a measure of our progress.

The Industrialists and the Scholar

The revolutionary organizations have all done more to make the mass of the people acquainted with the works of the world's scholars than all

other organizations together, including press, church and state. In America the revolutionary groups have reached many, while the I. W. W. has diffused a knowledge of them to the most hopeless and overworked of the dispossessed, till today we find the workers advancing by rapid strides in their understanding of fundamental scientific truths, and it is not alone those scholars who deal with sociological questions with whom they are becoming familiar.

The scholar of today, unless independently wealthy, has much pressure brought to bear upon him to trim his sail to meet the demands of comparatively illiterate men, with but one ideal, profits. If wealthy he must couch his works in such terms as not to offend the Anglo-maniac, the church, the nationalist and all of the powerful reactionary groups. When he voices a new idea or differs from some idea now popular it must be done with humiliating apologies. The new social order will remove the straight jacket from thought, then no longer need the scholar obscure what he has to say.

In the Southern states the socialists once propagated what some have called "White Socialism." For a party organization, not depending wholly upon the working class, this was practically unavoidable. That such tactics can be avoided by an organization of a revolutionary industrial character, was demonstrated by the Brotherhood of Timber Workers, which at the apex of its career affiliated with the I. W. W. For the industrialist knows no class lines in any climate. Just as labor has found it necessary to organize regardless of different nationalities of whites, so the industrialist, in his social scheme, wants all humanity embodied in it. Today recognizing that its success depends upon the entire working class, not the white, black or brown part of it, the workers of all races are sought as members by these groups, and all enjoy equal privileges as members. The industrialists see in the future society all class antagonisms eliminated, and such conflicts as take place translated to another field, have different sources and methods; there will be no one to profit by preaching race hatred, and free science cannot support it.

The ability to think and labor is the property of no one race. In "Social Evolution" Benjamin Kidd writes: "Even those races which are melting away at the mere contact of European civilization supply evidence which appears quite irreconcilable with the prevailing view as to their great intellectual inferiority."

The facts show that these so-called inferior races have plenty of intellectual capacity for earning distinction in any branch of learning, even when confronted with hostility. No one would today think of saying that the Chinese or Japanese were not the intellectual equals of any. It is not a question, in most cases, of capacity at all, but of opportunity and equipment. The Chinese, for instance, developed a comparatively high degree of civilization, while our ancestors were howling savages. The forces

that carried some races ahead and arrested the progress of others were not under the control of them, nor are these forces controlled today.

Whether humanity developed from one stock, and groups became isolated and acquired different characteristics, so different as to become distinct races, as seems to be the case (see Wells' "Outline of History; Van Loon "The Story of Mankind"), or whether the conditions necessary for the evolution of man took place separately at different parts of the earth's surface matters little, though most scholars, at present, hold the former theory.

Many quite unlike groups have in the past been assimilated into one people. It appears that, with a modification of the social structure, a process of blending will take place. In fact it is taking place, and such a change would not originate it, but only facilitate the process. Each race would contribute racial qualities which would be of great value to the whole. Some of the weaker branches, now slowly disappearing, may be more nearly blotted out than assimilated. However, this will not prove true of those races which are numerically strong and are today distinguishing themselves. Race antipathy, even in centers of hostility, cannot completely suppress the reproductive, for men and women are often charmed by the opposite sex of an alien race; this indeed is a more attractive future than one of inter-racial warfare. Lacking such a social solution, a destructive warfare between Asiatic and American-European capitalism is now in sight, which may destroy civilization.

The Industrialists and Violence

Listening to an I. W. W. soap-boxer in Salt Lake City (Fred Ritter) speaking about a street car strike, I heard the following voiced: "When the scab gets on the car and runs it, we don't try to wreck the car, but allow our vision to climb the trolley and follow the wires to the place where the current originates." This is indeed the stand of the industrialists on violence, their scheme gives the strength of unity, of the concerted action of every unit necessary to stopping the particular work. Their structure provides for the stoppage of work in another or all other industries if necessary to win in one. They recognize, in violence, the tactics of desperation, and ineffective organization. So much for industrial warfare for immediate demands.

The same views are put forward by them in relation to the social revolution. It was an advocate of political action who said, "Behind every socialist ballot lies a bullet," and another who said, "If they should refuse to install our elected administration, we will mount the barricades and fight like tigers." The industrialists put forward the idea of control of the new machinery of production, upon which the life of all modern nations rests. The present workers are the only ones possessing the technique actually to operate this machinery as a whole. Not so long as a large part of them remain at work, can new workers drawn

from the untrained, undisciplined, non-producing elements be able to man even minor parts of it. Violence is the means of the owners, and the methods of one class can not be successfully used by another. It is not through violence that the workers can triumph, but through the construction of a machine to destroy the ability of the employers to use violence to enforce their ownership. Industrial organization is the ideal weapon for this purpose, for the industries of the nation are scattered, and the soldiery, drawn from the ranks of the workers themselves, cannot be distributed and directed properly for the work of upholding the employers, against the workers who control communication, transportation, lighting, etc., acting in conjunction with all the rest.

True, some advocate the idea that capitalism shall fall rather than be overthrown. With this question I am not greatly concerned, for whether it collapses or is overthrown, the thorough organization of the producing class is necessary, and the negative basis of "watchful waiting" for it to fall is not sufficient to build upon.

Labor organizations developed because the workers had no means of escape, and no other means of defense. To prevent the onerous condition of the employers, the producer had to be armed with a weapon that suited his needs, and was shaped for his purposes. This required, and to avoid becoming obsolete still requires, increasing sagacity, while a clearly visualized goal is of the greatest importance to any social movement.

All phases of modern life have for some time overflowed national boundaries and natural geographical barriers. But the triumph of an industrial organization, and the consequent overthrow of the present obsolete national governments, would for the first time in the story of man see a social organization as broad as the race and its interests. The new social order for some time would logically proceed upon lines similar to those assumed by the forces which inaugurated it. But it being hardly possible that man has reached the limits of evolution, either in a physical or intellectual sense, such an assumption would be as absurd when held in regard to the new order as when held by our primitive ancestors.

If we should grant the assumption that the most finished product of the race today has ascended to the highest peaks of development, we still would have to take cognizance of social evolution, and the result of bringing the race as a whole to such a degree of development. Consequently it is comparatively safe to assume that the new social order would itself be transitory. It would present a picture similar to that of the machinery which brought it into being, with the additional prestige of wielding the undivided and unopposed will of the entire race. "If such an organization were handled in a way to hold the allegiance of its constituent membership, its decisions on matters of importance would carry immense authority."

("The Next Step," by Scott Nearing.) Its decisions would carry so much authority that a war conducted by a continental or an industrial division would be an impossibility.

However a social war (not armed warfare) might quite possibly take place, extending throughout its fabric. Its overthrow and the inauguration of a still more advanced and freer society may take place in such a manner. It would amply provide for the settling of quarrels or rivalry originating from the material interests of any one small group. However, there are phases of life from which no institution, of which we are able to conceive, can abolish competition and friction, and the development of a social order which would eliminate, even the worst features of this from all phases of life, would necessarily be one more advanced than the "Industrial Democracy" sketched here. The presentation of the next immediate social order as an immense love affair by two billion people is absurd, but its industrial and social structure will prevent its breakup, excepting in favor of a more advanced order. For the only condition of life that can remain unchanged would be one in which evolutionary forces could not operate or innovations be introduced.

"A change has occurred in man and that change was education, the power which brought about this change was the steam engine." (Steinmetz, "America and the New Epoch"): So we can imagine a change occurring, in the order proposed, by the introduction of a means of generating power from the sun rays, spherical friction, or the decomposition of the atom, far greater in its possibilities than steam or electric power machinery.

In utilizing the industrial mechanism of today such a society of necessity progresses into a yet higher stage, for to quote the figures, not of a literary theorist, but of one of the world's greatest engineers, Steinmetz, "The elimination of obvious waste and inefficiency of duplication of production, etc., would still farther reduce the work of the world, so that without discounting improvements and inventions which are continually being made, we can see a world with a standard of living fully as satisfactory as ours, but working only four hours a day, only two hundred days during the year—that is, taking a week or two for recreation at every holiday, and two months vacation in summer. This is far away, but it is no idle dream, we have only to look across the water, toward war torn Europe, and we can see conditions which, with the waste of war removed, would not be far different from above." The Steinmetzes of that future day will no more be idle than now, while their prestige will be far greater. So we may safely assume that nothing will even be considered finally settled, knowledge will continue to increase and will alter the conditions of life as now, so we may assume that there will be something beyond, freer than industrial democracy, itself to be the product of revolution, when the new order has laid low the ignorance,

superstition and peculiar traits of mind fostered by the present semi-savage state of mass and class oppression.

The succeeding state will probably be one of voluntary association or organization. The fact is that it will take a finer type of man than we have at present to inaugurate a social system based on voluntary association. To idealize the average man or toiler is futile. The truth is that the average man and toiler will need to pass through the social order of industrial grouping, which will not be voluntary, before he will attain the social conscience necessary for such an ideal form of life. The possession of material things, as a measure of a man's value must be eliminated from the concepts of the race, the passion for moulding every one to one model, in forcing every one to conform to the drab standard of the majority must be overcome before the great mass of men may become true individuals, before a race truly free and beautiful can be evolved, living not in the hideous primitive state of anarchism or communism, of some of the "radical" back-

gazers, but in the anarchism of an intelligent and capable race. Man as we know him today is more brute than intellect, a sense of beauty is the possession of but a few.

The difference between the man finally to be produced by the individual democracy, and living in the first society of free men, and the toiling cattle, scheming shysters, mercenary politicians, and prostituted journalists of today is sufficient at this time to render the evolution of such a superior man a thing inconceivable to the average person, even to the average revolutionist, who thinks of his authoritative communistic or industrial unionistic society as final.

Who still think and write in terms of majority rules see only that which is temporary, present. The real social change will make men free. Its concept, rather than the greatest good for the greatest number, majority rule, will be founded on organic, social unity, the only foundation for spontaneous sympathy and love.

Onward

By LEWIS STONE

IN this picture of a primitive man hauling huge stones with which to build a dwelling or for some other purpose, we have an artistic idea of the fearful labor involved when industry was very young and the mind of man was little developed. Usage of tools, their continual improvement and multiplication, has sharpened the human brain and placed ease in life and comfort within the grasp of the whole race. However, the speed at which most workers in America are compelled to toil,

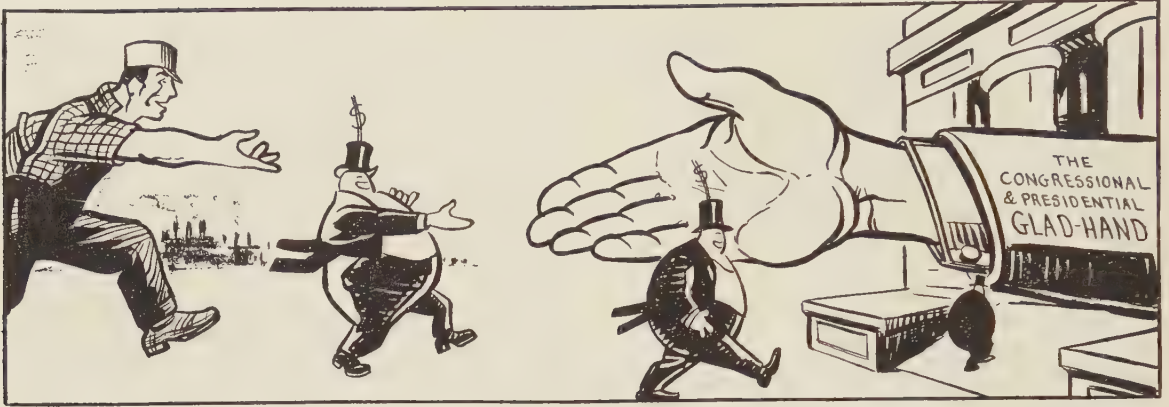
Modern industrial plants illustrate the contrast between archaic forms of labor and those operating today. But the workers are slaves to these machines and prisoners of all the factories when they should be masters of all social tools. They lack this mastery because they are divided, ignorant, without a sense of their own due worth and without a vision of what a dreamland they could make of this old world if only they would organize and wipe away all barriers standing between equity and justice in the relations of man to man and man to industry.

But attaining such a social readjustment, involving revolution in society, is not the highest stage men may hope to reach. It is simply battering down the walls of a confinement prejudicial to the welfare of the workers primarily, and to the human race secondarily.

At the conclusion of his greatest satire, "Penguin Island," Anatole France draws a picture of a future with industrialism unchallenged and cities of fifteen millions, crowded warrens of industry, dim and joyless. In seriousness to draw the future with the stuff of imagination or desire is utopian, but we do not want to go forward to a regimen of ironclad system, to dwell in the sunless canyons of cities and to view as the only thing worth while our attachment to industry, any more than we should care to turn back to primitive forms of existence. Solving the economic problem by instituting an industrial commonwealth is a great step, but it lays only the foundation of a life thus far unknown, one that is freed from that which is ugly, freed from drudgery, freed from industrial goosestepping.



the consequent exhaustion endured, would not show so great a difference in the status of the primitive man and his modern wage slave descendant as might be assumed by viewing the great machines man now has to aid in creating life's necessities.



VOICE FROM WITHIN (WARMLY)—“COME RIGHT IN, GENTS.”

Behold Here The Election Spirit!

By C. E. WOOD

WITH the election time for many national, state, and municipal offices approaching, the workers are sure to be treated again to the flattery of those who are out to catch votes. The dignity of labor will be much spoken of while acknowledgement of the workers' social contribution will fill the air. In non-election seasons there is a remarkable dearth of this homage, and even so astute a politician and so noble an idealist as the late Woodrow Wilson had his “say” about the workingman in plain language—after he had captured the presidency. When the subject of the perennially mounting cost of life was broached to Woodrow and his opinion asked as to what he thought the workers should do about it he replied: “Tell them to eat cheese.” One of his distinguished political contemporaries, now gathered in the arms of his fathers also, Champ Clark, while speaker of the House of Representatives was even more blunt in the same premises. He said to tell the workers to “eat mush.” But the storm of war broke on Europe and the American proletariat went to work on ships and shells and they were spared the cheese and mush, which just before that time they were having difficulty in securing. The war brought prosperity and shed its glory on the reign of the Princetonian acolyte before the hallowed shrine of democracy.

Now these mentions are made merely to remind you that on occasion the office holders in the highest seats of authority will “spill the beans” about their real attitude regarding the welfare of the slaves—only, and it is to be well noted, these leaks come after elections. Before the elections nothing—in words, at any rate—is too good for the people. After the contest is over nothing is too bad for them.

And as the years have rolled around a growing number of workers have come to realize that they have nothing to gain from politicians. They have not read books to find this out, but experience with the whole breed by a process of party rotation in administration has shown them how alike are all factions contending for control. An election period never passes in which the tendency of workers to allow the ballot to pass unnoticed is not deplored and denounced in the capitalist press, and, for that matter, in the remnants of the socialist press as well. All are urged to flock to the polls and “do their duty.” However, this exhortation does not turn the tide of indifference to political affairs, the workers feeling that the vote is a broken reed upon which it is foolish to depend.

This apathetic reception of the hortatory broadsides for them to rush pollward and stuff ballots in boxes said to be capable of issuing a magic for the common good, might be only the obverse side of the medal. We might expect to find a reverse face displaying a positive movement in a direction for action in lieu of the abandoned parliamentary sort. Such is not the case. The workers do not leave off voting to employ other methods. They do nothing.

It is an important phenomenon, this increasing neglect of employing their voting privileges, that should be turned to account by industrial unionists. While we witness this condition of disaffection we should also remember that never has the American working class given support to radical political parties. This is not a fact to be regretted, inasmuch as numerous alignments of proletarian forces with social democratic parties in Europe for about four decades, having parliamentary blocs of great strength, achieved nothing of value for the workers and fell to pieces in the debacle of 1914.



SAME VOICE FROM WITHIN (WARMLY—BUT WITH A DIFFERENCE!)—"HEY! NOT YOU! I SAID GENTS!"

America is, at least, spared these long years of experimenting with socialist saviors.

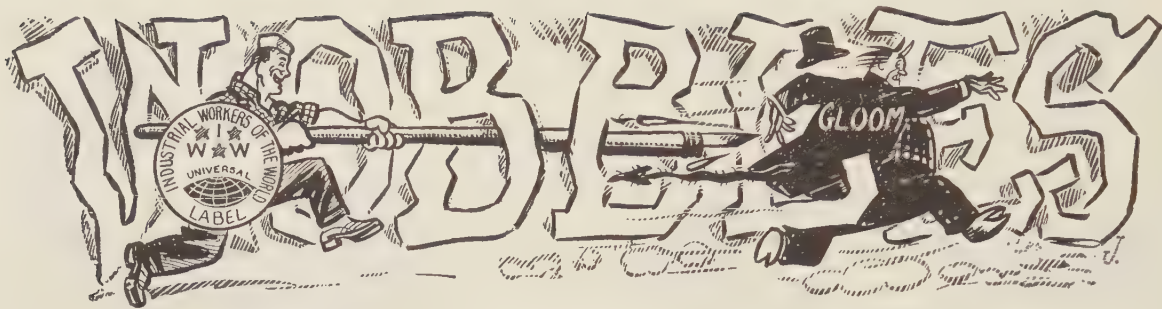
The time is more propitious to disseminate the industrial union philosophy than ever before, as examples of the constant and universal transcending of industrial control by business empire over the parliamentary influence multiply themselves. During the war business openly ran the government as it had previously and has thereafter operated it more covertly. And if we can focus attention on this economic spectacle we can detract from the parliamentary interest that still holds the minds of many workers, while arousing those to act who have already quit hoping for betterment by changes of administration on the political field.

Nothing should really be more natural for working class expression than economic direct action, and without having raised their sporadically intense contests with their masters in industry to a creed or a philosophy, the workers have depended more and more upon the strike. No action more directly suggests itself to them, and the strike is an instrument within their grasp. They do not wait for an election day to vote resistance to encroachments in factory, mill or mine; they think not at all of using ballots to reduce the hours of labor or to increase wages or to gain anything they want. What they do, if they do anything, is to demonstrate their economic power directly at the productive point. Of course this gesture is very limited in a country where unionism recruits so small a minority of the working class, but it is practiced sufficiently to influence workers' thought in general, and one is frequently in earshot of such remarks in unorganized industries as, "We ought to start a union to get more pay." It is never, "We should vote next election day for so-and-so to get bigger wages."

This is an encouraging aspect of the class struggle. Taking account of the training in subservience that is given to workers, and the consequent timidity they show toward embracing programs involving assumption of power, we must realize that

our educational progress among them must necessarily be slow. We have very little influence on the education of minors, our work being possible only among adults, while the orthodox systems of education have a method that is elaborate and begins with small children, never ceasing "educating" the individuals in patriotism, belief in the sanctity of the existing regime, and in acceptance of their "place." We can not change this educational scheme until we have charge of education, and this, like all other institutions, is bound up with industrial ownership. Although the fact had long been observed and commented upon, it was left to Upton Sinclair to publish two books dealing with the American system of education both elementary and advanced. In "The Goose Step" and "The Goslings" he makes a complete case showing that the economic masters of this country dictate the kind of education that is to be dispensed and the kind that is to be dispensed with. When we have won the ownership of the industries we shall fall heir to ownership of all social institutions, and then we shall be obliged to shape these institutions to our own ends.

Our work is to show workers that a better life is possible for them only if they unite industrially and take it. Our business is to demonstrate that food, clothing and shelter, the three most essential needs of man, are not produced in parliaments, but in the industries and that to regulate their creation and distribution parliamentary direction is not needed but industrial organization certainly is. The horizon of a liberated humanity must be illumined by the rays of economic direct action. Slowly the industrial union idea is taking hold and the employing class is making desperate efforts to prevent its propagation. By industrial organization the bosses have gained control and they realize its merit. They know that when the great mass of workers, or even minorities of workers in certain industries, embrace this instrument of organization a will to power will be generated and the knell of economic autocracy tolled.



HORSE SENSE

In the American Mercury for July Captain E. L. M. Burns, of the Royal Canadian Engineers of the world war, has this to say about the horse:

"The above chronicle of defects ought to be enough to convince anyone who has not had a cavalry training that the horse is not to be depended on for warfare in this enlightened age."

Thus the horse shows better sense than his master, man.

A PATRIOTIC GESTURE

"We, Our and Us." What "we" are doing in South America. How fine "our" work down there is. All the things that now belong to "us," he tells us all about in the Saturday Evening Post. But just as my patriotic pride was beginning to bust my bosom almost, I found that "We" and "Us" were our dear old friends the Guggenheims, Morgans, and Rockefellers, while "Our" was Anaconda Copper and Standard Oil and Bethlehem Steel, who owned, there as here, all that was ours. And what do you think they went to all the trouble of annexing all that fat profit for? Just for fun? Not on your life, bless your dear, innocent soul—they done it out of pure patriotism, just because they want to protect Uncle Sam in the next war! Ain't that too noble for anything?

QUIZZING THE M. D.

Pat had recently arrived in America from the Emerald Isle, and he was obliged to see a doctor about an illness. When the physician finished the examination Pat asked:

"Well, doctor, and how am I feeling today?"

HARD

Dentist: So you've broken a tooth, eh?

Tough kid: Yeh.

Dentist: How did it happen?

Tough kid: I wuz shiftin' gears on an all-day-sucker.

REALIZATION

"This is positively revolting," remarked Louis XVI on hearing of the fall of the Bastille.

A FAIRY TALE

Once there was a young man who loved his wife and his mother. One day his sweet bride asked which of the two he loved more.

"My mother," he said, hanging his head.

"That's good," she replied sweetly.

ANOTHER ONE

"Just as I thought," said the dentist to the new patient, "your teeth are in perfect condition."

TIMELY ADVICE

A street speaker in Scotland was being annoyed by offensive remarks from part of his audience. He was about to call a policeman when one of his friends advised: "No need to call a bobby. Just gang roun' wi' the hat!"

OF COURSE

Abie: Papa, what's science.

Papa: Don't be dumb, Abie, it's them things like what says "Keep off the grass."

TYPOGRAPHICAL ERROR?

From the Provincial Record (Australia).

It is presumed that his death was due to having come in contact with a high-tension wife.

OF NO CONSEQUENCE

The big sedan was speeding smoothly over the country highway. A one-armed driver was sitting at the wheel, but other arms were well distributed in the rear seat.

"I think I heard something drop," said the chauffeur, anxiously. "I hope it wasn't my spare tire."

"No, only a pedestrian," remarked the girl reassuringly, laughing at his needless fears as the car sped on.

NONE TODAY, THANK YOU

"Please, ma'am," said the domestic, "there's a poor man at the door with wooden legs."

"Why, Bridget," interrupted the mistress in a reproving tone, "what can we do with wooden legs? Tell him we don't want any."

Capital is Capital

By COVINGTON AMI

WHAT is the point of effective concert between Capital and Labor, between management and men?" asks Robert W. Bruere in the Survey Graphic for August.

Bruere should learn the scientific use of these words before handling them, else he is muddling the issue and hurting the cause of labor.

It is clear that the "Management" of industries are just as much men as are the "men" working at other tasks in industry. The managers are no more capital than are the rest of the men and women engaged in production, distribution and exchange. They are merely a highly trained group of technical workers, and nothing else. In the present system of robbery of labor they do not manage the socialized industries for society, but to gouge out of the workers under them all the profit the traffic will bear for their bosses, the plutocracy, as the present dividend rate clearly proves. They are efficient, all right—efficient robbers.

It is further clear that this definition of capital is correct, viz.:

"Capital is that part of wealth set aside for the production of more wealth through the exploitation of the labor power of the industrial and agricultural workers."

There is no equality between capital and labor for the sufficient reason that capital is a dead thing until labor power starts it into life. It is the product of the age-long effort of the race, and what the race has created belongs by every right, natural and divine, to the race alone. The present owners of capital hold it, not by right, but by usurpation and conquest. It has been looted from the race.

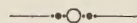
It is sheer nonsense, or worse, therefore, to speak of "management" as if it were capital and of "men" as if they were something outside of an alien to the economic organization of industry. Such language will never get us anywhere.

We, the workers, are not after injuring capital. Not at all. Our whole interest is in conserving it and in developing it to still higher efficiency to the end that our lives may be freed of grueling toil and uncertainty, and that there may be more peace in leisure in the world for all.

We have nothing therefore against capital. It is to the capitalist, the alleged owner of capital that we object. We deny his right to own that which is the creation of the race as his private property. We deny it because it injures us and ours. We demand the abolition, not of capital, but of the private ownership of capital. And this we do because that private ownership carries with it the alleged right of the private owners and their autocratically selected management to do as they

"damn please" with our labor power, which is the very life of our life—the strength of our hands and brains. We hold, therefore, that the only "point of effective concert between capital and labor" can be effected when capital is common wealth.

For when capital is common wealth it will no longer be capital, for then it can no longer be used for the exploitation of labor power. That is what we are aiming at—the ending of the abuse of capital by making it common wealth. That end we will achieve, "for nothing is more certain in the stars than that the workers shall yet be free."



"Why is a Editor?"

By COVAMI

PAW, why is a editor, queried the Sweet Young Thing, looking up from the latest issue of the Daily Yellow American.

"Editors, my dear daughter," replied the fond parent, "especially editors of great journals, great dailies and official organs, are because they once were.

"Editors were originally some pumpkins in the communities in which they lived and enlightened; but today all that is changed, for, what with the Business Office on one side of them and the Policy of the Management on the other, they are now in the fix of the man who got between the devil and the deep blue sea.

"Editors are supposed to illuminate the minds of the common people on and as to affairs sundry and in general, but when a man can't express his own mind his illuminations don't dispel much darkness, my dear.

"Editors are mainly maintained on publications today, not to think, but that the Public may have somebody to cuss.

"Editors thus being between the Business Office, the Policy and the Public, develop hides thicker than politicians and consciences like unto dipomats and, even at that, only the most hardened sinners stick to the job.

"Editors cannot turn around without butting into one of the three Great Powers named and must ever be on their guard against ruffling any of them, since from the Business Office they draw their pay, from the Policy their psychology and from the Public their praise, all three of which are necessary to the welfare of modern editors, for editors, like all other animals, must forage for food, clothing and shelter, my darling.

"Editors must therefore always speak wisely and well, exercising great care in the handling and illumination of the dangerous thoughts, facts and

truths that now undermine all society, lest they unwittingly expose the ship of state to a submarine, and thereby kerplunk the palladium of our liberties.

"Editors, my dear one, are, like all other big men and things of today, not what they seem, or dreamed, either; and the more widely they are heralded and advertised the more certain you can be that they are famed for saying nothing sagely or for gilding the lily of truth so perfectly that no one would recognize it once it had passed through the exotic exuberance of their imaginations.

"Editors are born and not made. Their 'why' is one of the unrevealed marvels of an unrevealed mystery."

"Gee! Paw, I didn't know it was as worse as

that. Ain't you a editor?" dazedly queried the S. Y. T.

"Yes, my child," he meekly answered, "I am of the Lost Tribe of Thinkers. But please don't be too hard on poor old daddy, dear, for, remember, had I not been diplomat enough to dodge the three Terrible Powers named, you could not have been Queen of the Pippin Karnival Kub's ball this season, and it has been the dream of my life to see you Queen of the Pippins.

"When the Blue Pencil falls from my weary hand and I go hence to that Happy Land whence the Business Office, the Policy and the Public cannot come, just carve this on my tombstone, please:

"Here sleeps an editor. May he never wake up. Amen."

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(The Industrialist)

Published daily in Duluth, Minn. Write to Box 464, Duluth, Minn., for prices on bundle orders and subscription.

Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

The conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

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